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THE LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER LYCURGUS

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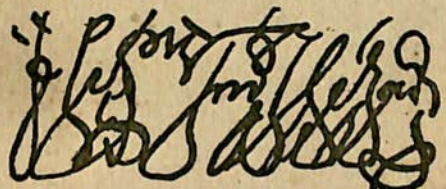
ALEXANDER LYCURGUS

ARCHBISHOP OF THE CYCLADES



✠ Ὁ Σύρου καὶ Τήνου Ἀλέξανδρος

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BY F. M. F. SKENE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN

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RIVINGTONS
WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON
Oxford and Cambridge
1877

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,

THE FIRST FRIEND WHO WELCOMED

ALEXANDER LYCURGUS

TO AN ENGLISH HOME,

AND THE LAST TO WHOM HIS THOUGHTS TURNED

WITH GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION

IN THE HOUR OF DEATH,

THIS RECORD OF HIS LIFE IS DEDICATED.

INTRODUCTION

THE present work makes its appearance at a seasonable opportunity. The eyes of England and Christendom are now turned towards the East. Whatever may be the immediate result of the great struggle there, this seems to be certain, that the conflict will exercise a powerful influence on the destinies of the Ottoman Empire and of Oriental Christianity. The days of Mussulman dominion are drawing to a close; and the question will then arise, What are the hopes of revival and restoration for the ancient Churches of the East?

In reply to this enquiry it may be assumed that those Churches have little to expect from the Latin hierarchy, and from those religious societies which are in communion with Rome. The attempt made at the Council of Florence, in the fifteenth century, to coerce the Eastern Churches into submission to the Western, only served to widen the breach between them; and the recent appeals put forth by Pope Pius IX. at his elevation to the Papal throne, and on the eve of the Vatican Council, have revived and intensified the feelings of indignation with which the Eastern Patriarchs have long regarded the claims made by the Roman Church to spiritual supremacy.

But is there no hope of communion between the East and West? The present volume supplies some materials for an answer to this question.

Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syros, Tenos, and Delos, and other isles of the Ægæan, was an example of a Greek prelate of the nineteenth century, who in no inconsiderable degree represented the feelings and reproduced the learning and eloquence of the Eastern bishops, who sate in councils of the ancient Catholic Church at Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. And, while he maintained stedfastly the doctrine and discipline of Eastern Christendom, yet he had a large-hearted and generous sympathy for Western Churches, professing to build on Holy Scripture as expounded by the judgment and practice of the Primitive Church. May I be pardoned for mentioning a slight but significant specimen of the genial elasticity of his temper in this respect? Although the Greek Church of the present day prescribes celibacy to its Bishops, yet when he first honoured me with a visit at the end of January, 1870, and when my wife and daughters were presented to him on his arrival at Riseholme, his reply was, πολλὰ καλά, κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος (*Very well; this is according to primitive custom*); and I cannot forget the enthusiasm with which in Lincoln Cathedral, having mounted the pulpit before divine service, he looked around him, and stretching forth his hands, exclaimed in his native tongue, "May I live to see the time when the blessed truths of the gospel may be preached here from Greek lips to English ears!" nor how from the carriage at the door of the Cathedral, when he saw the choristers coming forth from the church,

he asked leave to stop them for a minute, and as if he felt certain that they would understand any words that came from his heart, he assured them of his fervent prayer that they might make progress (*προκοπὴν*) in all that was good, and grow up *γνήσια τέκνα τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας* (genuine sons of their Country and of their Church); nor how after the consecration of my dear friend and brother in Christ, the Bishop-Suffragan of Nottingham, in St. Mary's Church in that town, he came into the vestry, and threw his arms round his neck and kissed him on the cheek, and prayed that he might be able at the great day to give a good account of the flock committed to his care, and receive a reward from the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.

It may be fanciful to augur much from such hearty effusions as these; but it ought not to be forgotten that we have much in common with the Eastern Church. The Greek Fathers are ours. We love the Clements, the Polycarps, the Basils, the Gregorys, the Chrysostoms of Eastern Christendom, and we thank God that the Eastern Church has never had a Council of Trent nor a Vatican Council; and that she has not raised up an insuperable barrier between us and her by arrogant pretensions to Supremacy and Infallibility, as some have done, who have thus shut the door of repentance against themselves, and have condemned themselves to a perpetual imprisonment of error.

We cannot also forget the endeavours made by our own learned and pious forefathers to open friendly communications with Eastern patriarchs and prelates, in the days of our Stuart princes, and in the primacy of Archbishop Wake, and more recently in that of Archbishop

Howley, who, when some persons showed a disposition to exaggerate errors and corruptions prevailing in the Churches of Greece and Asia, and to dwell upon them with unamiable self-complacency, said, with that mild wisdom which characterized him, "I know all this very well; but such things as these are due to their Mussulman oppressors; and a charitable allowance ought to be made for those who have groaned for so many centuries under the Turkish yoke;" and then he quoted with a placid smile two lines of Homer,

"ἥμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρυόπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλῃσιν."

"*Far-seeing Jove half of his manhood takes*
From him on whom the day of bondage falls."

And in a similar spirit, in 1867, Archbishop Longley ordered the Lambeth Encyclic to be translated by the writer of these lines into Greek as well as into Latin, and to be sent, with a brotherly salutation, to the Eastern Bishops.

Forty-four years ago, at Athens, it was my happiness to enjoy friendly intercourse with the then Bishop of that city. I remember the oration he pronounced at that time, under the shade of the Temple of Theseus, in order to welcome King Otho, the first king of Greece since the days of Alexander the Great. My own intercourse with him was the more pleasant and profitable because it was under the hospitable roof of American missionaries, to whom I owe a debt of deep gratitude, which I am desirous of placing on record here, for nursing me in sickness after a wintry journey from Athens to Eleusis, Plataea, Leuctra, Delphi, Thebes, and Delium,

near which I was waylaid and wounded by klefts. These American missionaries had then a flourishing school of Greek children gathered together to receive Christian instruction from them; and the Bishop of Athens cheered this work of love by his presence and his blessing; and in that practical evidence of mutual confidence and affection and harmonious co-operation in Christian education, there seemed to be a happy augury of what might be done for Eastern Christendom by wise and charitable conference and co-operation on the part of Western Chuches.

The eloquent Archbishop of Syros, whose character is delineated in the present volume, delivered a memorable oration in the same city in the cathedral church.* That discourse displayed a striking proof that Greece has still her martyrs to Christianity. It was a funeral oration on the Patriarch Gregory of Constantinople, who suffered on Easter Day, 1821, being strangled at the gate of his own palace by Turkish assassins. They had tried to induce him, by the offer of life and wealth and honour, to renounce the faith. But in vain; he remained stedfast to the end. The history of the subsequent adventures of his body till it rested in the grave at Athens, where it now lies, near the mortal remains of those who fell in the Peloponnesian war, and whose obsequies were graced by the eloquence of Pericles, is related in these pages; and the history of Gregory the Patriarch of Constantinople, whose martyrdom and funeral are there described, as well as the narrative of the life of the Archbishop of Syros, who pronounced the sepulchral oration over his body, and who died (we might

* See page 68.

almost say a martyr) in his zealous endeavour, in the Conference at Bonn, to promote the exercise of Christian sympathy between the Churches of the East and those of the West which cling to ancient catholicity as distinguished from the errors and novelties of Rome, may serve to quicken a feeling of humble hope, that if it should please God that Constantinople should cease, after more than four centuries, to be the seat of Moslem misrule, and be restored to the Christian faith and to Christian worship, the Cross may again surmount the Church of Santa Sophia, and other Gregories and other Chrysostoms may sit on its Patriarchal throne, and faithful worshippers from the East and from the West may meet together as brethren under its dome, to sing praises to their common Lord. The union of the ancient Churches of the East with the Western Churches of the Anglican and American communions, and with the Old Catholics of continental Europe, may be designed by Almighty God, in His merciful providence, to be a bulwark against the assaults of Unbelief and Ultramontanism, which now menace Christendom; and to be a safeguard of that Faith which is contained in Holy Scripture, and was held by the Primitive Church, and which is the only real guarantee for the security of Thrones, and for the peace and prosperity of Nations.

C. LINCOLN.

RISEHOLME, LINCOLN,
August 21st, 1877.

CHAPTER I.

Influence of his Father's Character on Alexander Lycurgus.

THE history of the Eastern prelate, to whose care was committed the fairest diocese in Greece, has undoubtedly acquired a significance it would not otherwise have possessed, from the peculiar circumstances of the period in which his lot was cast; but the record of his life must always have had that intrinsic value which pertains to the career of a man who has been true to his faith and his convictions, when placed in positions of exceptional difficulty. Outside the limits of his native land, the memory of Alexander Lycurgus will ever be inseparably connected with the fervent longing for the re-union of Christendom which has so remarkably arisen of late years both in England and on the Continent, inasmuch as it was given to him, more perhaps than to any other in his own communion, to show how even the changeless Oriental Church now acknowledges that in the house of our Father on earth no less than in heaven, there are many mansions, where all who are His children, of whatever race, may yet learn to dwell together in brotherhood and unity. In connection with this great subject the life of the Archbishop of Syros comes before us in a twofold aspect; for he was not only, on all questions relating to it, the exponent of the mind of the Greek Church, as her official representative, but he also gave in his own person and character undeniable testimony to her possession of a true indwelling spiritual power, in

an age when she has been credited with a want of vitality which is supposed to present a serious obstacle to intercommunion. Doubtless there are many other holy and consistent members of the ancient Orthodox Church who could have witnessed, like Alexander Lycurgus, to the treasures of grace yet existing within her; but they are as little known beyond their own country as the Archbishop of the Cyclades would have been, but for the important missions which brought him to England in 1870, and to Bonn in 1875.

These were occasions which naturally gained him a considerable celebrity, and brought into strong relief some of the most striking features of his character, while they enabled him to do good service to the Church of England in making known her true position and principles to Eastern Christians; but the simple history of his life, as it has been communicated to us in full detail by his relations and friends in Greece, will be sufficient to show that it was not in these prominent events of his career his true greatness was most conspicuous.

The trials and difficulties, inseparable from the position of a dignitary of the Oriental Church in the present century, were enhanced in his case by unusual circumstances; and he passed through them with a rare wisdom and singleness of purpose, which gave him an influence in his generation that will live to benefit the people of his native land, long after his own name has faded from the records of the past. Yet, remarkable as was his public career, a still deeper interest pertains to all that is known of his inner life; for he was a striking instance of that distinct vocation which in all ages has set men apart from infancy, like Samuel, to be in a special sense consecrated to the service of God.

In order that the true history of Alexander Lycurgus may be rightly understood, both in its private and public aspects, it is necessary that we should explain in some detail the special influences that were brought to bear upon him at different stages of his career. Of these,

the earliest, as also undoubtedly the strongest, was the powerful impression made upon him by the noble character of his father, and the splendid part taken by that remarkable man in the long-protracted struggle of the Hellenic people for their deliverance from the Moslem yoke.

The Greek war of independence has never been called a religious war, and yet it had a better claim to that appellation than many a conflict which has been so named by the chroniclers of the past. It is a significant fact that the standard of revolt against the Mahommedan ruler was raised by no mere patriot, but by Germanus, the aged Archbishop of Patras, who came forward, strong in his spiritual dignity, despite the feebleness of his declining years, to be the first champion in the cause of Hellenic liberty.

The ancient Greek Church, mother of all others in Eastern Christendom, whose sway extends from its centre in Greece through the Levant and Archipelago to the uttermost parts of Sinai, was not only, as a distinguished writer has said, the living representative of the Hellenic race, the voice which has spoken among them with unchanged accents from the apostolic age, but she was absolutely the means by which that people were kept alive through four centuries of bondage under the Turkish rule. She was in the deepest sense the shrine of their nationality as well as of their faith. During the long period of their galling servitude it was by the desecration of their sanctuaries, of which traces remain to this day, that the iron entered most cruelly into their soul; and when at length they rose in revolt, they did so as children of the holy Eastern Church rather than as the mere rightful possessors of their classic soil. Among the leaders in that noble struggle for liberty there were some with whom religious enthusiasm was the inspiring motive from first to last; and this was eminently the case with George Lycurgus Logothetes, the father of the future Archbishop of

Syros. He was a man well worthy indeed to be called a Christian patriot, but also one who might have claimed the higher title of confessor, from his devotion to the faith, for which he endured long-continued sufferings that only stopped short of actual martyrdom. The simple details of his outward life, which is all that we have space to give in the memoir of his son, cannot do justice to the pure spirit of Christian self-sacrifice which guided him throughout his eventful career, but they will at least serve to convey some idea of the peculiar atmosphere of thought and feeling, which surrounded Alexander Lycurgus through the impressible years of his childhood and youth. The original name of the Archbishop's father was George Lycurgus,* but he is now exclusively remembered by that of Logothetes, from the important office which he held for many years as lay-representative of the church at the Holy Synod. He was born in 1771, and was a native of the island of Samos, where he belonged to a family of considerable distinction. He received a tolerably good education; but it was undoubtedly due to his own efforts and superior intellect that he attained to a degree of culture very unusual among his countrymen in those days. His elder brother became a priest, rising to high ecclesiastical rank, and for this reason probably George Lycurgus did not take holy orders, but devoted himself to the study of medicine. He had, however, a singularly devout mind, as well as a generous and unselfish disposition, and the governing principle of his life, from its first intelligent commencement to its close, was the desire to see his Church and country delivered from the galling bonds of a foreign yoke. To this object he determined, in the ardent days of his youth, to dedicate his whole existence, whatever might be the cost to himself; and

* The family name of the Archbishop is identical with that of the Spartan lawgiver, Λυκοῦργος. It has generally been written in this country *Lycurgos*, which being a combination of Greek and Latin is incorrect, and we therefore prefer now to use the usual spelling of that well-known name.

he nobly fulfilled his purpose through the long years of trial and pain which were his portion in consequence.

Having learnt all that he could be taught in the schools of Samos, George Lycurgus went to Constantinople to complete his studies, and from thence travelled to Wallachia, where he remained some time. During this period he served under the reigning prince, Ypsilanti, who selected him for the distinguished office whence he derived his title of Logothetes. This appointment shows the high opinion that must have been entertained of his judgment, young as he was; for the post was one of great importance and difficulty, inasmuch as it rendered him the acting medium between the Church and the Turkish authorities, besides conferring on him the dignity of government commissioner at the deliberations of the Holy Synod.

In spite of the honours thus gained in Wallachia, however, his heart was still with his countrymen in their bitter bondage, and he soon left his pleasant position there in order to return to his native island, carrying with him the new burden of his responsible office.

The oppression under which the Christians of Samos laboured at that period was so intolerable that Logothetes determined to make an effort for their relief, although there was not then the slightest prospect that the ultimate independence of Greece would ever become possible. Leaving his home once more, he travelled to Constantinople, where he pleaded the cause of his countrymen before the Turkish authorities with such energy and power as to compel their unwilling attention to his demands. After long delays, his efforts on behalf of the Samian Christians had a singular result, and one he could little have expected; for he so won the confidence of the Porte by his courageous integrity and strength of character, that he was himself sent back to Samos, charged with the mission of quelling serious disturbances which had arisen there between the political factions of liberals and anti-liberals, into which the

inhabitants of the island were divided. Logothetes acted with remarkable uprightness in this difficult position, labouring incessantly for the welfare of his own people, without failing in faithfulness to his employers, despite his abhorrence of the Ottoman rule. As a natural consequence, he soon excited the envy and jealousy of many among the Moslem inhabitants, who became his sworn enemies. For some time they endeavoured in vain to drive him from the island by various persecutions; but they finally succeeded in doing so, by accusing him of favouring a revolt against the Turkish government, which obliged him to fly to Constantinople in order to save his life. There the influence of the Patriarch of the Eastern Church was strongly exerted in his favour, and the Porte, disbelieving the accusations against him, gave him the appointment of governor of his own native island. He returned therefore to Samos, full of hope that, armed with so much power, he should be able to work successfully both for his faith and his people. It was at this period, we believe, that Logothetes made the offering to God of a church, built at his own expense, and dedicated to the Saviour, which remains to this day as a witness to his zeal, close to the harbour of the island. His own abode too is still extant, a massive building near the grotto of Polycrates, and which retains its name as the "Tower of Logothetes."

The new governor was not long left in peace. His former enemies were secretly at work, and they soon succeeded in renewing their former accusation, that he was fomenting, with treacherous designs, a rebellion in the island against the Porte. The Turks hastened therefore to his house to seize him; and not finding him there, they put to a cruel death an unfortunate priest to whom he had given shelter. Logothetes himself was, however, soon after taken; and having paid a large ransom as the price of his life, he was sent in exile to Mount Athos, and was prohibited, on pain of death, from leaving the monastery which received him, for a

single day. That which was intended to be a painful imprisonment was really, however, to his devout mind a time of rest and refreshment, which he much enjoyed. He was treated by the monks with the greatest honour; for they were aware of the proofs he had already given of his devotion to the Church, and he spent his days as well as great part of his nights in studying the sacred MSS. in their libraries. Meanwhile Logothetes was not forgotten by the Patriarch and his other friends, and they never ceased their efforts till they obtained the revocation of his sentence, which set him once more at liberty. He returned without delay to Samos; but he saw that, for a time at least, he could only remain there if he lived in strict retirement. It was during this quiet period that he married, in 1811, a Greek lady, named Poulouditza Stamati, who ultimately became the mother of Alexander Lycurgus, the future archbishop. The family altogether consisted in due time of nine children, four sons and five daughters, and of the whole number two of the latter alone survive at the present date—Cleopatra and Diamantina.

Logothetes' tranquil domestic life after his marriage did not lessen the vindictiveness of his enemies. They continued to accuse him falsely of treachery to the Porte, and, with more truth, of being ever bent on the deliverance of his country. Their efforts to effect his ruin were at length so far successful, that a band of armed men went by night to attack his house and take him prisoner. He made his escape from them in disguise, and a Greek vessel took him off from the island, conveying him to Corfu, whence he made his way in safety to Constantinople. Logothetes had now reached a crisis in his life, when he was to make most clearly manifest the entire self-abnegation with which he had devoted himself to the welfare of his Church and country. His zeal on behalf of the faith, oppressed as it was under the Turkish dominion, especially in Samos, had secured for him the friendship and protection of

many influential persons among the Fanariotes, who constituted the Greek aristocracy of Stamboul; and had he so willed it, he might at once have taken an honourable position as a resident there, and enjoyed a life of tranquil ease and luxury. But of him it might truly be said that he preferred the reproach of Christ to any pleasure this world could give, and he used the influence that might have gained wealth and distinction for himself, in obtaining permission to return to his mission among the oppressed Christians of Samos, where he knew he should be in peril of death from day to day. His friends tried in vain to hold him back, and their fears on his account were soon verified; for he had not been long in the island before he was seized by the Turkish authorities, and cast into prison. When, however, he was brought into the presence of the governing Pasha, who probably intended to execute him at once, he made no appeal for himself, but spoke with such fervour and eloquence on behalf of his persecuted countrymen that he completely won the favour of his unscrupulous judge. Instead of consigning him to the bow-string, the Pasha took him out of prison, and had him guarded in his own palace. There Logothetes was safe from the open attempts of his enemies; but they endeavoured secretly to compass his death by bribing the Pasha's servant to poison him. In this they signally failed, through the integrity of the man, who could not be induced to injure him for any money they could offer.

Eventually Logothetes was sent out of the island with his family, and he established himself in Smyrna, where he remained practising as a physician till the breaking out of the Greek war of independence restored to him the power of serving his Church and his people. Logothetes had long been one of the most powerful members of the Hetairia, the secret society organized for the deliverance of Greece, to which her freedom is in fact mainly due; and Prince Ypsilanti, who was at the head

of the successful insurrection, sent him at once to Samos, to take the lead in rescuing the island altogether from the dominion of the defeated Turks. He who had suffered so much at their hands now showed a noble example of the forgiveness of injuries; he treated the humiliated Turkish authorities with the utmost kindness, shielding them by his powerful protection from the vengeance of his countrymen, and enabling them to depart from the island in perfect safety.

Ultimately he himself fought as a soldier in many important actions, during the course of the war. When the independence of Greece was completely established, under the Presidency of Count Capo d'Istria, Logothetes was named a member of the Pan-Hellenic Council at Egina, then Plenipotentiary at the National Congress at Argos, Councillor of State, Governor of Laconia and Messenia, and finally he seemed to have attained the highest summit of his lifelong desires when he was appointed Governor-General of Samos, which at that period was held to form part of the Greek kingdom. During a brief interval Logothetes believed that all for which he had suffered and striven throughout his whole existence was granted to him at last—his native island was free from its long bondage to a foreign yoke, and the welfare of the Church and people within its borders was entrusted to himself. The period when he could enjoy the bright anticipations founded on this conviction was short indeed. The European powers, to whose arbitration it was left to fix the limits of the free Hellenic territory, decided that the island of Samos was to be given back to Turkey. By this unexpected fiat, all Logothetes' dearest hopes were finally extinguished, and the Moslem rule was irrevocably established on the cherished soil where he had laboured with unceasing sacrifice for the Christian faith and for freedom. In the bitterness of his disappointment the weary half-broken-hearted man retired into a monastery, there to find solace in prayer and study for the failure of

his life-long dreams. It is probable that he would never have again left this calm retreat had not the claims of his country called him back to the turmoil of public affairs once more. The settled recognition of Greece as a kingdom made him feel it a duty to give the remaining years of his life to active labour on her behalf, in whatever way he best might serve her; and he knew that this could not be done in his beautiful island home, which he might never again hope to see either a free or a Christian state. He therefore took a last farewell of his beloved Samos and went at once to Athens, which had been chosen as the capital of the newly-established realm. There he placed himself at the disposal of the government, under King Otho, and was created a Senator, in which capacity he did good service to his country during the last period of his noble and unselfish life.

This, then, was the father, under whose influence and guidance the future Archbishop of Syros passed through the years of his youth and early manhood.

CHAPTER II.

His early Vocation for the Priesthood.

ALEXANDER LYCURGUS was born at Chora, in Samos, on the 4th of November, 1827; and from the first dawn of his intelligence he gave token of unusual powers of mind, and of a serious and thoughtful disposition, very different from the ordinary characteristics of children belonging to his pleasure-loving race. His birth took place just before the period when his father, Logothetes, was destined to learn the final failure of all that he had hoped to achieve for his God and his country; and very soon the high hopes and pure ambition which in his own person that noble Greek had failed to realize, were centred in the bright intellectual child, who showed himself capable of sympathizing with his parent's deepest feelings at an age when most boys care for little but amusement. The early death of Logothetes' eldest son, who succumbed to a sudden malady in Germany, whither he had been sent to study medicine, tended still further to fix all his hopes on Alexander, whom he laboured earnestly to fire with the patriotic ardour which neither age nor disappointment had been able to quench in his own true heart. The child became his constant companion; and as they rambled by the sea-shore in the soft eastern starlight, or spent the cool evening hours on the flat roof of the house, Logothetes loved to tell his little son every detail of his past eventful life, and to dilate on the aspirations for which he had sacrificed so much, in burning words,

whose echo lingered in the heart of Alexander Lycurgus to the last day of his own existence.

Such a history as that of Logothetes could not fail to make a strong impression on the thoughtful boy, and he soon became possessed with the passion of patriotism as enthusiastically as ever his father had been; but a yet deeper sentiment, which came to him from no earthly inspiration, caused it in his case to centre exclusively in the ancient Church of his native land. Alexander Lycurgus had scarcely passed out of infancy when the voice of God, calling him to the office of the priesthood, made itself heard in his young soul, with a power to which he yielded his whole being in a life-long obedience. It is recorded of him that, even at that early age, he announced his resolution to serve God in His sanctuary with an indomitable determination, which set at defiance every effort made to turn him from his purpose. He had to encounter most serious opposition from some members of his family, though not, happily for the peace of his tender heart, from his parents. His mother, to whom he was most fondly attached, might possibly have preferred to see him enter on a career which would have admitted of his sharing in the joys and honours of this world; but she loved him too well to thwart him in his deepest desire, while his father gave him from the first a thoroughly willing consent.

Logothetes had soon become aware that his gifted son was likely to rival him in all that had been noble and disinterested in his own career, and to the old man, who had learnt at such bitter cost the vanity of human hopes, it was a source of thankfulness that the bent of the boy's mind led him to serve exclusively the cause of that Truth which alone could make either himself or his people free, in the highest sense of the word. In fact, the position of the Greek Church at that time, depressed and fettered as she had been during the long period of the Moslem rule, was such as to render this devotion of his life to her, the most essential service he could render to his

country. His parents therefore, when they clearly saw, like Eli, that God had called the child, gave him every encouragement in his pious desire; but it was far otherwise with several of his relations, and especially with his sister Cleopatra (now Madame Marillon), whose intense and enduring affection for her brother made it hard for him to resist the passionate remonstrances with which, so long as opposition could avail, she strove to hold him back from that entire devotion of himself to the service of the Church on which his heart was set. She knew that for him it involved a life of sacrifice, unblest with the tender ties and human sympathies which would have been sō dear to his affectionate nature; for it was plain that if his talents and educational advantages were to be really consecrated to God in the priesthood, he must maintain the state of celibacy, without which he could not enter on the more important and difficult offices within the Church to which he might be called. Even in Alexander's childish days his sister's short-sighted though tender love for him, led her to indulge in many bright dreams of a happy future, which should give him all the joys of home in a safe and tranquil married life; but never for one instant, through all the ardent years of childhood and youth, did the young servant of Christ swerve from his steadfast purpose, or let himself be tempted by his sister's glowing pictures of possible happiness, to give less than an undivided love and service to his Master. We shall see, later in his history, with what gentle playfulness he met the hot words of indignation fulminated by Cleopatra against all who had been instrumental in binding him to the priesthood; but at a very early period of his life he had already taken the first step in the exalted course to which he adhered unchangeably, till the final hour came when she herself closed his eyes on the world, whose allurements she had offered him in vain.

Alexander Lycurgus was only six years old when he was appointed to the position of Ἀναγνώστης, or reader

in the Church; and the fact that he was elevated to this office at so early an age may be considered one of the most remarkable events in his whole career. His case indeed must have been a unique exception to the rule, which confers this appointment only on young men who have dedicated themselves to the priesthood, and who, within a short time of their ordination, are supposed to be capable of performing the duties involved in it. The permission given to Alexander to take upon himself this important position, at an age when he had scarcely passed out of infancy, was due doubtless to the singular intelligence and thoughtfulness that characterized him, as well as to the persistent earnestness of the resolution with which, at that early age, he manifested his purpose to give himself to the service of the Church. But for these personal qualities of the young boy, even the high respect in which his father was held would not have sufficed to procure his acceptance for the post, although it no doubt conduced to the willingness with which all ordinary precedents were set aside in the case of Alexander Lycurgus.

The duties laid upon him by his appointment as Ἀναγνώστης were certainly somewhat onerous for so young a child. He was clad in a long white robe, with a girdle round his waist, and a round cap on his head, beneath which his hair, purposely left uncut, fell to a great length over his shoulders. Thus attired, it was his part to stand behind the choir and read aloud to them the verses of the psalm or canticle which they were about to sing.

The singers in Eastern Churches know the ancient music of the chants by heart, so that they do not require the notes; but as they are not allowed to use any books, and do not generally know the words, these are read sentence by sentence in a clear soft voice by the Ἀναγνώστης, and are then immediately taken up by the choir and sung to the orthodox tones, which have been in use from time immemorial. The singing is antiphonal,

and in large churches there are two readers, who stand respectively behind the cantori and decani, but in the country churches there is often only one Ἀναγνώστης, who passes with his book from side to side, first reading the *strophe* and then the *anti-strophe*, with a precision and quickness which requires no small ability on the part of the young official. It is also his duty to read the portion of the Old Testament which is called the *prophetcia*, and the epistle, but not the gospel, which can only be read by a man who has received ordination; he likewise recites the Creed when it occurs in the service. The office is not one which in any sense answers to the position of a chorister in our English Churches, as the Ἀναγνώστης is exclusively a *reader*, and never joins in any part of the singing. Alexander continued to take his share after this manner in the service of the sanctuary at Samos, until he was ten years of age, at which period Logothetes felt it his duty to settle in Athens, in order, as we have said, that he might do his part in furthering the interests of the newly-established kingdom of Greece.

This change of residence could not but be a source of great happiness to the intelligent boy, who was capable even then of looking with very keen perception to the requirements on which his contemplated future depended. The new home in Athens restored him to the full enjoyment of his father's society, of which he had been partially deprived during Logothetes' retirement in the monastery, and this renewed intercourse was of great benefit to his mental training; but the chief advantage which he derived from his removal to the new capital was in the means it afforded him of a higher education than he could have obtained at Samos, which was more important to him than all other considerations, if his purpose of devoting himself to the work of the priesthood was to become an offering of real value to his Church, in the condition in which she was at that particular time.

We need hardly say that under the Turkish yoke, as

in all the vicissitudes of preceding ages, the changeless Eastern Church had held inviolate the dogmas of her faith and the formulæ of her ritual. Her rules had been enforced, and her worship conducted without the smallest omission or alteration from her apostolic traditions, throughout the long dark period when Greece languished under an antichristian government; but it had been inevitable, under such circumstances, that her priests should be left uneducated, and the spiritual life of her oppressed and unhappy people had fallen far below its former level. It was with a full comprehension of those evils, and with an ardent desire to combat them, at least in his own person, that Alexander Lycurgus flung himself with all the ardour of his strong nature into the study of theology, while his father, deeply sympathizing with his hopes and desires, promised him every advantage of education he could possibly procure for him. With this view he was placed at the earliest opportunity in the Gymnasium, the upper public school in Athens, which is conducted on the same system as the Lycée of Paris. In this institution Alexander worked with steady perseverance till he was of an age to enter the new university, which it had been the first care of the freed Greeks to establish in their capital. His college career was one of remarkable distinction, which he prolonged much beyond the usual term, in his rooted determination not to stop short of the highest degree of culture he could by any means acquire. Throughout the whole of this period he was known as a zealous and indefatigable student; and young as he was he won the friendship of many eminent persons, from the absolute devotion with which he gave himself up to his studies at a time when attractions of no ordinary nature might have tempted him to a life of ease and pleasure.

Athens, in those days, was one of the gayest of foreign capitals, from a combination of circumstances which have long since passed away. Its inhabitants,

relieved from the galling yoke which had so long oppressed them, were almost intoxicated by the sense of freedom, and caught eagerly at every excuse for holding high festival on most days of the week. The young king and queen, anxious to win the popularity which unhappily they never attained, made their court attractive by constant entertainments, while the *corps diplomatique* of course followed suit, and invited the young Greeks to their houses, where they met many distinguished travellers from other countries, who came to visit the classic spots that were now thrown open without restriction to the inspection of all who cared to visit them. The foreign society was thus very much above the average of that which is to be found in most continental towns, and hours unoccupied by private reunions could be wiled away at the opera-house and other theatres.

As a rule, every young man in the place gave himself up heart and soul to amusement, in the strong reaction from the past depression and misery; but Alexander Lycurgus was a notable exception. Not only did he hold aloof from the pleasures which were irresistible to his companions in the university classes, but he sought almost exclusively the society of men much older than himself, from whose wisdom and knowledge he could gain assistance in his efforts at self-culture. Some of these who have survived to this day, yet speak with enthusiasm of his brilliant university course, and of the fair promise he gave of distinction in whatever profession he might have chosen.

Alexander was still at the university, though close on the termination of his collegiate career, when a blow fell upon him which caused keen suffering to his affectionate heart. In 1850 the long eventful life of his beloved father came to an end. Logothetes died on the thirty-ninth anniversary of his marriage, May the 21st, in that year. It was an irreparable loss to Alexander; yet there were consolations in the trial which took all bitterness

from it, and compelled him to give thanks for the old man's gentle release. During the troubled years when George Lycurgus Logothetes knew not from hour to hour by what violence or treachery he might be suddenly hurried into the unseen world, it would have seemed to him a boon beyond all hope that he should thus finally pass away in a peaceful death, comforted by the last sacraments of the Church he had served so well, and sustained by the prayers of the dear son in whom it must have almost seemed to him as if he should yet live again. Logothetes closed his eyes for ever in a last look on the young face he loved so well; and then he, who must so often have expected in times of peril that his unburied corpse would be left exposed to the insults of his enemies, was borne in all honour to his grave, and laid down by tender hands in his last repose with the sacred funeral rites which were to him so precious. Alexander Lycurgus could thank God on behalf of his father, as he turned away from that calm resting-place; but he knew that it marked for himself an epoch which closed the quiet, hopeful days of youth, and left him to bear the burden of existence and its responsibilities henceforth alone.

CHAPTER III.

College Life in Germany.

AFTER the death of Logothetes his son remained for another year at college, and in 1851 he received a great, though well-deserved, reward for his brilliant academical course, by being appointed government student, which gave him the privilege of studying at the national expense in the universities of Germany and France. This was to him an inestimable boon, as his father's life-long devotion to his country had left the old man but ill-provided with worldly goods wherewith the requirements of his family could be met after his own departure; and the advantages which Alexander Lycurgus had thus gained by his personal merits would have been quite beyond his means in any other way. He delayed not a day in availing himself of them to the fullest extent; and as he was free to do so for a period of at least seven years, he determined to spend the whole of this time in study, and to divide it between the Universities of Leipsic, Heidelberg, Halle, and Berlin. He carried out this plan with indomitable perseverance and industry, working in each place unremittingly under the most eminent professors. Many of these had a high opinion of his talents, and continued to take a great interest in him after he had entered on his subsequent career; among whom we may name especially Tischendorf, Tholuck, Bernhardy, and Müller. Seven years spent in this manner, with all the facilities which his proficiency in the German language afforded him, could not fail

to bring him in contact with most forms of modern thought, and to open out a vast field of speculation and doubt for the exercise of his keen intellect; but throughout the whole of that period, as indeed during all his life, Alexander Lycurgus was never known to swerve in the remotest degree from the faith which had been transmitted to him intact, by the apostolic voice of his own immutable Church. His reverential trust in that ancient Guardian of the Truth was indeed to him a complete safeguard against the sceptical tendencies of the age, to which the great majority of his friends in the German colleges had succumbed without a struggle; whilst, on the other hand, his calm assurance of her lofty position as the mother of all Christendom rendered him absolutely impervious to the pretensions of the Church of Rome, with which he was assailed by the few religiously-minded Roman Catholics who were to be found among his companions.

To them he could quietly answer, without any intentional irony, that not only did the Eastern Church possess, in the claim of Antioch to be founded by St. Peter, the same privileges as the See of Rome on the ground of descent from that apostle, but that the Pope was simply looked upon as the *first Protestant* by all Orthodox Christians. Alexander's greatest danger, however, undoubtedly lay in the insidious arguments of German rationalism; but he was invulnerable against them in his reliance on the treasure of hereditary belief which he possessed in his Church; for the vital point of the Divinity of Christ is one on which she teaches the highest doctrine, and makes it the rule, and not the exception, that her authorized devotions should be addressed to the Saviour Himself, rather than to the other Persons of the blessed Trinity. He never shrank from openly announcing his opinions in face of the scorn with which any adherence to the old paths was met by those who had adopted the theories of young Germany; and on one occasion, when he was attending the theo-

logical seminary at Berlin, he caused a considerable sensation by a very remarkable speech, in which he demonstrated the attitude of the Greek Church towards the new discoveries of science, and declared it to be one of perfect liberality and sincerity, while at the same time she never moved in the remotest particular from the primitive faith, in which he affirmed she remained rooted as firmly in the present age as in that of the apostles, from whence she dated her existence.

Alexander Lycurgus thus passed unscathed through the severest trials to which his personal belief could have been exposed, while his especial vocation rendered him proof against the seductions of the world, that in those foreign cities surrounded him in many new and alluring forms. He continued, as before, to cultivate the acquaintance of studious and learned men, wherever he could find them; but he had no taste for general society, which, indeed, his resolution against marriage made it desirable that he should avoid. This determination on his part was not a vow of celibacy, taken, as in the case of a monk, on the ground that a single life is in the abstract a higher state than that which admits of domestic ties, but a deliberate purpose, adopted for the simple reason that, according to the constitutions of the Greek Church, it was in this manner only that he could serve God in the priesthood with all his powers. As a married man, he could only have become a parish priest; and this is not a position to which any student of theology, who had passed through the university course, could ever be relegated, for many reasons, even if he had far less valuable gifts for the higher functions of the Church than those possessed by Alexander Lycurgus.

The chief objection to this office being held by any educated man in Greece, is the fact that the same law respecting the marriage of priests, which obliges the parochial clergy to enter on that state before their ordination, prohibits them from exercising any function whatever in the Church, beyond the mechanical per-

formance of public worship in the country villages. For this duty it is sufficient that they should be able to read well, and to understand the Greek of the gospels; and as they cannot rise to any higher position, they remain in the little country stations to which they are first appointed, associating on an equality with the ignorant peasants around them, and being for the most part of the same class themselves. The son of the poorest agriculturalist has no difficulty in gaining the modest attainments necessary for a village Papas, as every school in Greece is absolutely free; and a boy can, if he chooses, enter the parish alphabet-school, and pass from thence to the gymnasium and the university, where he can be qualified for any learned profession, without its costing him a single lepta.* But the peasants who intend to take holy orders do not care to go beyond the very elementary knowledge requisite for the chanting of the Liturgy on Sundays and holy days, as they know that all other offices are closed to the ἐφημέριος (married priests). They are not even able to preach, as no one is allowed to do so by the Eastern Church without a licence, which is only bestowed upon persons who are known to have special qualifications for the purpose. To be appointed public preacher is considered a great and rare distinction by the Eastern clergy, and it would certainly cause extraordinary consternation amongst them if they were ever to find themselves obliged to obey the rule of the English Church, which compels every man, so soon as he is ordained, to be prepared to preach at least one or two original sermons every week. In like manner, only those are permitted to receive confessions who are selected for that difficult duty, and obtain the licence which confers on them the title of πνευματικὸς πατήρ (spiritual father); and although the ἐφημέριος is usually thus licensed, as a matter of convenience, special confessors generally speaking are taken from among the kaloyers (monks),

* Ten leptas are of the value of an English penny.

all offices within religious houses being of course debarred to the parish priest. There are many important functions in connection with the monasteries from which the ἐφημέριος is thus shut out, as well as from all offices which the university or the Holy Synod can entrust to the priesthood, and finally from the episcopate. Thus it is plain that Alexander Lycurgus could never have indulged in any thought of marriage, unless he had been prepared to fling away all the advantages, natural and acquired, which so specially fitted him to do a great work for God and his brethren within the Church of his native land.

There is, however, another drawback to the position of parish priest, which deters educated men from entering upon it, even if they have not the high motives which actuated Alexander Lycurgus. This consists in the fact that, according to the system which has existed in the Greek Church since apostolic times, the clergy are entirely dependent for their maintenance on the voluntary contributions of those who may require their ministrations. They receive no regular payment of any kind, and the small gratuities, varying from five shillings to one or two, which are given to them for the performance of special duties towards individuals, such as commemoration of the dead, or benediction of the house, are barely sufficient for their support. It is natural therefore that highly-cultivated young men, who have gone through the university course, should not care to fix themselves for life in a position which would compel them to live on charity, taking small fees for services which are obligatory upon them, and which they would much prefer to give freely. As a rule, therefore, all students of theology avoid a parochial cure, and prefer to become secretaries to the bishops, and to members of the Holy Synod, or university professors, and public preachers, if they succeed in obtaining any such appointment.

It is believed, however, that Alexander Lycurgus never had even the slightest wish to enter into domestic ties,

though his gentle nature made him capable of appreciating in an unusual degree the happiness of home life. He gave strong proof of his tenderness of heart, in the letters which he wrote during his absence from Greece at that time, on receiving intelligence of the death of his dearly-loved mother from a sudden attack of Asiatic cholera, so that he could not be summoned home to see her. They were worded in the most pathetic manner, and for years afterwards he could never speak of her without strong emotion. He had always been devotedly attached to her, and although her loss could not affect him in the same manner as that which deprived him of the wise counsels of his noble father, it yet finally took away from his life all its early sweetness, leaving him to meet its sternest aspect only; and it had the further result of removing from him any desire to return to his own country until he had concluded the seven years' servitude to study, which he had voluntarily imposed upon himself. This period terminated by his receiving the degree of Doctor of Philology, and he then took leave of the many warm friends he had made, and left Germany in order to travel for a short time in France, where he visited every public institution to which he could gain access, and made himself master of the systems of education chiefly practised there. During this time his own mental training was still the object on which he was persistently bent; and when at last he returned to Greece, it was as one of the most cultivated and distinguished men of which the young kingdom could boast.

CHAPTER IV.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

ALEXANDER LYCURGUS gave himself no interval of rest after his return to his own country. His friends naturally thought that seven years' hard study, following upon all his previous work in Athens, was quite sufficient excuse for a long period of relaxation; and his sister Cleopatra, whose pride in him was almost as great as her affection, would have liked him to have gone into society, that he might receive the homage which would certainly have been paid to him, as one who in foreign countries had done honour to Greece by his distinguished talents and blameless life. But he would not be persuaded; the stimulus of the one pure and high motive which had inspired all his actions from infancy was still too potent within him to allow of his thoughts being turned, for ever so short a time, to the world and its pleasures. He felt most keenly the extent to which the Greek Church was suffering from the total want of education in the greater number of those who performed her sacred functions; and while he was firmly resolved that he would not himself take her vows upon him till he had reached the highest mental cultivation he could possibly attain, he was very glad, while his own laborious preparation lasted, to give his best assistance to others who might be like-minded with himself. He therefore made no objection when he was named *privat docent* immediately after his arrival in Greece, and in that capacity he gave

a course of instruction in theology to a select number of pupils for a period of more than two years. His lectures during that time were considered very remarkable in their power and learning; and as a natural consequence he was, in the year 1861, appointed Assistant Professor of Divinity in the University of Athens. His success in this important post was quite unexampled. Crowds of enthusiastic students attended his classes, who were completely subjugated by his singular eloquence and fervour, and his reputation as a man of extraordinary talent was soon carried far and wide by his numerous admirers.* If earthly fame had been the object of his ambition, Alexander Lycurgus must then have felt that he was in a fair way to obtain it in an unusual degree; but no such desire seems ever to have entered his mind, which was entirely filled with his one great and life-long hope.

At length the time came when even his own high standard of intellectual fitness for the priesthood was attained, and, unassuming as he was, he could no longer doubt that the result of his self-training amply justified him in entering upon that sacred office. For this solemn purpose he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1862. It is not known whether this journey, though certainly of a religious character, was performed by Alexander Lycurgus in fulfilment of an actual vow previously taken, or merely in accordance with an

* His opening lecture, and those which followed, are thus described by one who knew Alexander Lycurgus well: "Le jour ou il prononça son discours d'ouverture la salle fut occupée d'une foule d'erudits qui prirent place á côté des etudiants. Ce discours empreint d'une rare eloquence et faisant preuve de vastes connaissances fut généralement applaudi et releva plus encore le jeune professeur dans l'estime publique. Ce jour marqua un nouveau progrés de la faculté théologique d'Athénes. Lorsqu'il eût commencé ses cours, il était emouvant de voir les étudiants de toutes les facultés accourir s'amonceler sur les bancs bien avant l'heure de la leçon, et ecouter dans un silence religieux le Professeur qui avec une eloquence brilliante exposait la parole de la vie éternelle—de bruyants applaudissements exprimaient toujours l'enthousiasme de ses auditeurs et les sentiments d'affection qui les animaient pour le maitre."

opinion prevalent among Eastern Christians that a special sanctification and blessing are conveyed with holy orders which are received at Jerusalem. In either case, however, a "pilgrimage" is understood in a totally different sense in the Greek Church from that which would be implied in the term elsewhere. It is never in the slightest degree connected with any sort of penitential discipline. In fact, the system of penance, in so far as it exists at all in the Eastern communion, is of the simplest description; and practically the only manner in which it is enforced is that persons who have revealed any grave fault in confession are sometimes debarred by the priest from receiving the Holy Eucharist, until such time as he shall feel satisfied by their subsequent conduct that their repentance has been really sincere. In the East, however, as in the West, it is a common practice for those who are placed in some great peril or anxiety to take a vow, that if they escape the threatened evil they will go on a pilgrimage to some holy place, in order that they may make their thanksgiving there, in special recognition of the mercy shown to them; but if Alexander's visit to Jerusalem was solemnly determined upon by him at some early period of his career, as seems likely, it was simply done in the pious belief that he would receive greater grace by his consecration to the priesthood in the holiest shrine the world contained, than he could in any less hallowed spot on earth.

Certainly, to whatever cause it may be attributed, there is no question that Alexander Lycurgus believed his spiritual life to have been singularly quickened by his visit to the Holy City, and his reception of the great gift, for which he had pined so long, at the hands of the venerable Patriarch Cyril. The letters which he wrote to his friends in Athens during his journey, and after his arrival at Jerusalem, expressed the deepest religious feeling, and an enthusiastic sense of the benefits he derived from all the circumstances of his pilgrimage; and especially from the fact that his consecration to the

more immediate service of his Master took place in the spot where, in the words of an ancient Greek chant, "HE was suspended from the tree who hung the stars in their spheres, and sent forth the rolling suns upon their fiery way."

It so happened that at the very time when Alexander Lycurgus was on his way to the Holy Land, the Patriarch of Jerusalem had arranged to consecrate the Church of the Transfiguration on Mount Thabor, which he had himself just erected as an offering to God. And having been informed that the young Professor of Theology had undertaken a pilgrimage to seek ordination at his hands, he at once sent to request that Lycurgus would join him on the sacred mountain, as he was well known to the Patriarch by reputation, although they had never met before. To Alexander Lycurgus it was a source of great satisfaction, that his first interview with the saintly old man, from whom he was to receive the chief blessing of his life, should take place in this memorable spot; and we subjoin a letter which he wrote from thence, along with another written shortly afterwards from Jerusalem, immediately before his ordination. Both are addressed to an intimate friend with whom he had shared his lodgings when in Athens, and who had been his fellow-student in former years, so that he wrote to him with natural openness and familiarity.

The translation of these letters, as well as of several others belonging to a subsequent period of his life, which we shall give in their proper places, has been made as literal as was possible, without destroying the remarkable purity of the Archbishop's style, which bears marked evidence of his classical scholarship, while his habit of ecclesiastical phraseology gives a certain quaintness to his language that is not easily reproduced. In his later letters it has been found still more difficult to render faithfully the instances, repeatedly occurring in them, of the playful humour which was one of his great characteristics at ordinary times; but his pilgrimage was too

solemn an occasion to admit of any lightness of spirit appearing in the accounts he sent to his friend of his visits to Thabor and Jerusalem, although they are written without the slightest stiffness or pedantry. Kyrillos, whom he mentions so repeatedly, was a young priest who accompanied him on his journey as travelling companion.

"On the Holy Mount Thabor,
1st August, 1862.

"DEAR AND WELL-LOVED FRIEND,—I have arrived at last in the Holy Land, and in the deepest emotion of my heart I am visiting the sacred spots where *the feet of the Lord have stood*, and where I can salute reverently the precious traces of Him. I wrote to you nine days ago from Alexandria, telling you about my journey, and that I meant to remain there two days. During these two days I saw all that was interesting at Alexandria, and was treated by our countrymen established there with great honour and much hospitality. Indeed, they wished to persuade me to remain till the next steamer, that I might go to Cairo and speak with his Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria about an affair which was troubling them; but Kyrillos did not wish it, so I had to give it up, and departed, promising to write to the Patriarch about it, and to beg the Patriarch of Jerusalem to write to him also; and I advised them at the same time, as the question involves a point of ecclesiastical law, to write to the Professor of Canon Law in Greece, and ask his opinion whether the Patriarch has a right to insist on administering the funds of a church, built within the jurisdiction of his throne by persons professing the same religion, but belonging to a different nationality?

"Leaving Alexandria on the morning of the 26th of last month, we arrived about nine the next day at Joppa. Remaining there a few hours, and sending on our superfluous baggage to Jerusalem, we went on with the same steamer to Kraïpha, from whence, as I wrote to you from Alexandria, we could more easily reach the port

of Galilee, where we were to meet his Holiness the Patriarch. During all this voyage from Alexandria to Kraïpha I did not suffer from the sea, but was quite well, and full of enthusiasm and joy, at the thought that it was soon to be granted to me to see those places where the holiest mysteries of our faith took place, and of which from a child I had so often heard and read. Arriving towards evening, on the 27th, at the little town of Kraïpha, we remained there in the establishment belonging to the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre; and the next day we ascended Mount Carmel, at the foot of which lies this little town. It was here that the Prophet Elias lived. The view from it is magnificent, and it is quite covered with trees—chiefly olive trees. Towards its base, on the ridge of the mountain towards the sea, there is a Latin monastery dedicated to the Prophet Elias. We visited the monastery, and after a quarter of an hour's walk further down towards the sea we were shown a grotto, which according to tradition was the place where Elias and other prophets taught their disciples, and for this reason it still bears the name of the *School of the Prophets.* There we met by chance many Jews and Jewesses, who had come there out of devotion on a pilgrimage from all parts of the country, dancing and shouting in the most enthusiastic manner. One must have seen them to understand what religious enthusiasm is among the people of the far East!

"Towards evening we returned to Kraïpha, and started again from thence about midnight, riding on asses towards Nazareth. Kyrillos kept saying on the way, What a pity you were not there to see us! We travelled in this way the whole night, under the light of a lovely moon, and through a dreary desert. In the morning, one hour before daylight, we arrived at Nazareth, the home of our Lord. There, having heard that the Patriarch was on Mount Thabor, we announced our arrival to him, and he at once sent a man with horses, and a letter asking us to go up to him on the mountain. Thus, after

having rested the whole day of Sunday, and seen the holy places of Nazareth—that is, the spot where according to tradition the annunciation to the Holy Virgin took place, and the workshop of her betrothed Joseph, and others, we started a little before the rising of the sun, and after two hours found ourselves on the Mount of the Divine Transformation. There we found the Patriarch, and having kissed his hand, were received by him with the most kind hospitality.

"Mount Thabor is one of the most beautiful mountains I ever saw in my life. On the summit is a small plain, most fertile; the sides are thickly wooded, chiefly with oak trees, which are full of wild beasts and of birds. The view is perfectly splendid. To the south, one sees the plain of Jezreel, as it is called in Holy Scripture; to the west, several wooded heights, behind which is Nazareth; to the north and east, first the flat ground, where the people sat to hear our Saviour's discourse on the Beatitudes, further on part of the Lake of Gennesaret, and still more distant, the Anti-Lebanon.

"During the morning hours the mountain is covered with very thick clouds. In general, the air is so pure, and the whole scene so enchanting, that one can justly say with St. Peter, when he saw the Transfiguration of the Saviour on that spot, 'It is well for us to be here: let us build three tabernacles.' It is curious that we are in fact living in tabernacles (tents), as, except the Church of the Transfiguration which his Holiness has built on the ruins of an ancient temple, there exists no edifice here to dwell in. We shall remain here till the 6th of the month, when the consecration of the Church will take place on the festival of the Transfiguration, and then descend to Nazareth, from thence through the country of Tiberias to Samaria, and finally to the Holy City of Jerusalem. With the Patriarch, there is also here the Bishop of Nazareth, a Cretan by birth, quite a man of the new generation, and who was educated twenty years ago in the Gymnasium of Syria. With

him I have visited many interesting spots on the mountain. Yesterday evening he took me to see the eagles' nests. It was splendid to see the eagles soaring down from on high. Meantime, in order to make you a participator in the sacredness of these scenes, I enclose some leaves from the trees of Thabor and Carmel; and must finish my letter because my paper is at an end, and I have great difficulty in writing, having no table, and writing on my knee, while Kyrillos (who salutes you) converses with other monks around me.

"I salute you from my heart,

"Yours as a brother,

"ALEXANDROS LYCURGUS.

"Salute all my friends from me by name, and write soon."

The last passages of this interesting letter show us how the courteous fashions, which obtained in the days of St. Paul towards the brethren, remain in full force among the Eastern Christians of the present time. In the following account from Alexander's own hand of his momentous visit to the Holy City, he speaks more unreservedly of his feelings than he would have done to any one but the very intimate friend he was addressing, who had long known and sympathized with all his hopes and fears on the subject of his dedication to the priesthood.

"In Jerusalem, 16th August, 1862.

"DEAR AND MUCH-LOVED FRIEND,—I wrote to you two weeks ago from the Holy Mount Thabor, announcing to you my safe arrival in the Holy Land. I now write to you from the sacred city of Jerusalem itself, where, by God's grace, I arrived in good health on the evening of Saturday last. If my visit to Nazareth, to the Holy Mount Thabor, to Jacob's Well, and other sacred spots, which I saw before I came here, affected me very strongly, much more deep has been my emotion on

visiting the Holy City. Indeed my agitation was great when, on the morning of Sunday last, I entered for the first time the Church of the Resurrection, in order to worship at Golgotha, at the Holy Sepulchre, and other sacred witnesses of the Passion of our Saviour; and these were the strongest emotions that religious feeling had ever aroused in my heart. When I stood on Golgotha, and thought that on that very spot the cross of our Lord had been planted, and His precious blood had flowed, I was so much overcome that I could not refrain from tears; and I there understood how right are those who believe that the sight of the sacred spots, where the deepest mysteries of our salvation were enacted, has no small influence in arousing religious fervour.

"In my last letter I wrote to you, if I do not mistake, that I had intended to follow the Patriarch in his tour through the villages of Galilee and Samaria; but when I found that his journey would last till September, and that I should not have time sufficient for the work before me, I decided, insisting thereupon with Kyrillos, to hasten my arrival here. The Patriarch agreed all the more readily to this, that he wished me to assist here in the organization of the studies of the theological school, and to make as many alterations as I might think necessary in the regulations. On arriving here I received from every one, great and small, many honours and attentions. I was given by order of his Holiness the best room in the Patriarchate, with an adjoining bedroom, most pleasant. A special servant has been allotted to me, and in general the treatment I have received from the Patriarch, and the honour he has done me, have been far above my expectations. When on Mount Thabor I wished one day to make an excursion to the Lake of Gennesaret, he gave me his own horse to ride, and his secretary, three ecclesiastics, with guards and servants, to accompany me. When I left Mount Thabor to travel through Samaria on my way here, he desired the Bishop of Nazareth to go with me to Cana (where the marriage

took place at which our Lord changed the water into wine), and thence to Nazareth. He was then to ask from the authorities an escort of soldiers to accompany me to Jerusalem. I spoke with his Holiness about my ordination; he rejoiced greatly that I remained faithful to my first decision, and it was decided that after his return, a few days before the Festival of the Cross (September 14th, O.S.), he would ordain me deacon, and on the Festival of the Cross, which is celebrated in the Church of the Resurrection with much pomp, he would consecrate me priest. To my surprise, without saying anything to me about it, he wrote to his attendants here to order my ecclesiastical robes. They are now being prepared; so you see that everything is absolutely decided, and that what I have desired from my heart since my childhood will soon take place. Since I have once put my hand to the plough of the divine work I ought to take this step, though it is a step very great, and full of danger, because I have then to pass over the boundaries which separate the life according to the world, that I have hitherto lived, from the life of an ecclesiastic. This decision about my ordination need not be kept secret; but, on the contrary, you can announce it publicly, and on the day of the ceremony I beg of you to invite all our friends in my name to spend the evening together, and give me their good wishes. I forgot to write to you that on Mount Thabor, on the 6th of August, when the consecration of the Church of the Transfiguration took place, I had by order of the Patriarch to make a discourse. It is true that now I rejoice within myself, and glorify the guidance of divine Providence, that it was granted me to preach at the consecration of a temple built on the very spot where our Lord was transfigured; but at the time when the Patriarch proposed it to me, believe me that I felt much embarrassed. First, the proposal was made to me suddenly the evening before, so that the time was very short; and secondly, I had no other book of reference

near me than the holy Gospel. However, what could I do? To refuse was impossible; so I submitted, and, shutting myself into my tent, I composed what I could in haste. I preached it the next day, after the reading of the gospel, and the Greeks who were present seemed much pleased. The Patriarch gave me his blessing and his good wishes. The discourse will be published soon by a printing office here. This is briefly all that I have to tell you about myself. And you, what are you doing? Why have you not written to me? Have you got another lodging, and have you passed into it, or not till September? I hope that in the change you will be very careful of my books. The bookcase in my room, where I shut up my papers and books, might perhaps remain in the house till I return. Write to me who is talked of as successor to Missael,* and in general in what state are our ecclesiastical matters. I finish my letter by embracing you with all my heart, and saluting all our friends.

"Yours as a brother,

"ALEXANDROS LYCURGUS.

"Our friend Kyrillos salutes you cordially. Photius also salutes you, who has just returned here from Paris. Benjamin has remained behind, having been attacked by illness."

Alexander Lycurgus remained more than a month in Jerusalem, during which time he prepared himself with deep devotion and earnestness for the great step of which he had spoken as being so full of peril, and so truly the commencement of a new and solemn life, very different from that which he had lived before. On the day which the Greek kalendar terms the Festival of the Cross, the long-enduring desire of his heart was at last accomplished, and the ἐπιτραχήλιον (stole), symbolizing the yoke of the priesthood, was laid upon his shoulders by the fatherly hands of the good Patriarch Cyril.

* The Archbishop of Athens, then just dead.

CHAPTER V.

Election of Alexander Lycurgus to the Archbishopric of the Cyclades.

ALEXANDER LYCURGUS did not linger in Jerusalem an hour longer than he could help, when once the great aim of his life was accomplished, and his altered dress and appearance marked him as a priest of the ancient Orthodox Church;* yet it cost him a cruel pang to tear himself away from that holy spot. Not only was it intensely dear to him from its sacred associations, as it must ever be to all hearts that are faithful to their crucified Lord, but it cost him much also to part with the Patriarch Cyril, to whom he had become deeply attached. He had been with him constantly during the greater part of his sojourn in the Holy Land, and they were so truly kindred spirits that a strong mutual affection had sprung up between them, in spite of the difference in age and position between the venerable Patriarch and the newly-ordained priest. The friendship which united them from that time continued undiminished after they had parted, and their intercourse was kept up by correspondence until the time many years later, when, as will be seen, their friendship sustained a sad interruption. They never met again in this world; and some presentiment that it might be so, no doubt, enhanced the grief with which Alexander Lycurgus took his final leave of the Holy City. He would not delay it however; as he had said in his letter to his friend, having once put his hand to the plough, he must go

* The clergy of the Greek Church assert that their sacerdotal robes are in all respects of the same shape and texture as those worn by the apostles themselves, and there is certainly no tradition of any change having been made in them from the earliest times.

forward at once, and enter into such active labours as might be appointed for him by the divine Providence. It was one of Alexander Lycurgus's striking characteristics that, notwithstanding his natural talent and courage, he ever relied with the most simple childlike submission upon the guidance of God, seldom taking action of his own will in any matter, but quietly waiting till each step in advance throughout his whole life was indicated to him, as he believed, by unmistakable signs. He was not long left in doubt as to the immediate course he was to pursue on his return as a priest to his native land. Scarcely had he arrived in Athens when he was appointed public preacher, with the licence of the Holy Synod for that office. As we have already explained, the Eastern Church imposes this duty only upon such of her priests as she considers distinctly and specially qualified for it; and at that time there were so few whom she could count really fit for her election, that the post had become one of great importance. It was the only means by which religious instruction could be conveyed to the people; and Alexander Lycurgus at once threw himself into the work with untiring energy, amply justifying the choice which had placed it in his hands. He soon attracted very great attention by the eloquence and learning, as well as by the high spiritual tone, which distinguished his discourses from those of any other preacher; and his countrymen, along with the foreigners resident in the city, thronged to hear him. The admiration which he excited, expressed with all the fervid enthusiasm of that southern people, might naturally have moved him to feelings of vanity and self-esteem; but the singular humility with which he met the applause so lavishly bestowed upon him was the constant subject of remark by those who were witnesses to it at the time.

During the period when Alexander Lycurgus thus performed the duties of public preacher he did not give up his work as Professor of Theology, but continued the somewhat arduous labours connected with that post,

which he felt to be of great importance in the preparation of the young men who intended to take holy orders, and would ultimately replace the older generation of priests, with their inevitable deficiencies of education and training; but we must explain that these labours were given quite gratuitously, and that from first to last the whole of his work in the divinity school was a perfectly free and voluntary offering of his talents to the service of the Church. He knew well at the time when he accepted the appointment that he was never to receive any salary, as he was asked simply to become an honorary assistant to the regular professor, who was already established in the university, and received all the emoluments connected with the post. In agreeing to this arrangement, Alexander Lycurgus was quite aware that the lion's share of the work would fall to him, as it certainly did; but this precisely met his own wish to devote himself with a pure heart to God, and for four years after his return from Jerusalem he continued to give course after course of striking lectures, carefully thought out and eloquently expressed, which have assuredly made their mark with unmistakable power on the Greek priesthood of the present day.

The year 1866 found Alexander Lycurgus hard at work in these recognized duties, and still more fully occupied perhaps by the serious responsibilities which his well-known wisdom and devotion brought upon him, as many resorted to him for advice on religious questions, both of a public and private nature. Apart from his necessary appearances in the pulpit and lecture-room, he led, however, so far as he could, a retired and solitary life. His early home was now quite broken up; and even his sister Cleopatra, though she retained all her especial affection for him, could no longer give him much of her society, as she was married, and had a family of children to absorb her attention. One of these, a charming little girl named Irene, endeared herself to her uncle by the passionate attachment she

manifested to him. At a later period of his life, as we shall see, her tenderness was destined to prove a great solace to him under heavy sufferings; but in 1866 he had very little time to bestow on his Εἰρήναρε (big Irene), as he playfully termed her long after she had grown into a slender graceful girl, because as a little child she was very large and stout.

That year commenced for him in a quiet course of work and study, with no prevision on his part of the great change that was to take place in his life before its close. Those who had marked his career however, and estimated the extent of his growing influence on the intellectual and spiritual progress of his country, were in no way surprised when the choice of the Holy Synod fell upon him to fill one of the highest positions in the Greek Church. The Archbishopric of the Cyclades had become vacant, and Alexander Lycurgus was appointed to that important see. Then it was that the son of Logothetes felt how all his father's deepest prayers for him were answered, who had ever asked that the child of his special love might do great service to his Church and people; while his own long-cherished aspirations in the same spirit were crowned with the promise of that labour and suffering which ever accompanies the highest work for God. Alexander Lycurgus received the announcement of his unexpected election, as the decree of Providence, and met the congratulations freely offered to him with a quiet modesty which revealed none of the powerful emotions it had stirred within him. He was doomed however to taste some of the bitterness which often falls to the lot of those raised to exalted positions, before even the anointing hands had conferred the great spiritual dignity upon him.

It is unhappily notorious that in the East any vacancy in important posts is sure to engender rivalries and intrigues, which often result in very unscrupulous means being used to dispossess the persons who may be appointed to these offices. Alexander Lycurgus was no

exception to this rule. So soon as his appointment was made public, false rumours were industriously circulated as to the nature of his political sympathies, which for a time prevented his election from being confirmed.

In order that the charges which were brought against the Archbishop-designate may be rightly understood, we must go back for their explanation to the period when Greece first became a free kingdom. At that time the Bavarian Regency, with the consent of the nation, declared the Hellenic Church to be independent of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. No opposition was made on any ground to the arrangement; but after a few years had elapsed a difficulty arose in respect to it from a somewhat singular circumstance. The Holy Chrism, used for confirmation and other rites in the Eastern communion, could only be consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople, by whom it was supplied to all the Churches under his jurisdiction. The store of this sacred unguent, which existed in Greece when her independence was proclaimed, had of course been obtained in this manner, and it had sufficed for a considerable time; but at length it was found to be completely exhausted, and, to procure a renewal of the supply, it became necessary that Greece should recognise the Mother Church as her ecclesiastical head, and that her administrative independence should be sanctioned by an especial convention to that effect with the Patriarchate. Two parties in opposition to each other arose within the Church on the subject of this treaty, so important to her welfare. One was headed by Economos, a very able man, who had formerly been an ecclesiastical dignitary in Russia, and was greatly under the influence of the government of that country. His desire, and that of his followers, was to limit as much as possible the independence of the Greek Church, and render her completely subservient to the Patriarchate, and their association was called the Russian or Nappiste party. The other, led by Pharmakides, who had been Alexander's predecessor in the university as professor of theology,

was regarded as the Liberal party, and was supposed to be more or less under English influence. The convention into which it was proposed that the Greek Church should enter with the Patriarchate was called the *Tomos*, and Pharmakides published a learned but somewhat virulent work in opposition to it, which he entitled the *Antitomos*.

Finally, a compromise was effected to the satisfaction of both parties, and the one really important measure was carried out in the full recognition of the independence of the Hellenic Church by the Patriarch; but there were many minor points left subject to discussion from time to time, which served as material for the exercise of the party spirit, that was always kept alive by political influences. The original question had been settled long before Alexander Lycurgus had even returned from Germany; but when he was raised to the Episcopate the Russian faction took advantage of his well-known liberality of mind to accuse him of an unconstitutional bias. These insinuations were however so manifestly untrue that his enemies could only cause a brief delay in the confirmation of his election. The whole tenor of his life proved that his patriotism was as pure as his devotion to the Church, and that the one was almost as much a religious sentiment in his case as the other.

The recent trials in Athens of certain Greek bishops, who have been accused of using bribery as a means of obtaining their election, has given rise to an impression among some persons in England, that the opposition to the election of Alexander Lycurgus might have occurred from a suspicion of his having been guilty of a similar offence. This is emphatically a mistake. Nothing approaching to a charge of this nature is even hinted at, as a reason for the intrigues which worked against him, and concerning which one of his own countrymen uses very strong language, as will be seen from the remarks we subjoin. Speaking of the political troubles of that period, this writer says: "When the important Archbishopric of the Cyclades became vacant, by the death

of the virtuous Bishop Daniel, the unanimous desire of the Hermopolites, as well as that of all Hellenes, demanded the election of Alexander Lycurgus to the episcopal throne; but the general expression of the most enlightened public opinion met with opposition through *infernal intrigues.*"

Alexander had in his boyhood been much noticed both by Economos and Pharmakides, who had alike recognised his intellectual power and promise of future greatness, and had therefore sought to imbue him respectively with their conflicting opinions. It is to this that the writer from whom we are quoting alludes, as he continues his explanation: "Lycurgus had met in his life with two traditions, and two contrary tendencies, which disputed for ascendancy in the scientific as well as in the practical and exterior life of the Church. The one rested on the absolute authority of the Church; the other opposed to it the authority of the civil power. The supreme representants of these ideas were the wise Economos and the illustrious Pharmakides. Each of them was armed with a vast knowledge, and an ardent zeal for the glory of the Church and the nation. . . . . This struggle between two great men had inflamed the minds of the clergy and the statesmen. The Patriarch of Constantinople and his Synod having recognized the independence of the Hellenic Church, the storm was calmed; but the echoes of the great tempest continued to endure for a long time. Lycurgus had understood that the new position of the Hellenic Church required a new order of administration. Since this church had united herself by exterior bonds to the great Church of Constantinople, and to the other independent and Orthodox Churches of the East, she was bound to extinguish the mutual suspicions which the shock of conflicting ideas had aroused. Whilst attaching a great value to the right of freedom for the Church in all that concerned her spiritual system, Lycurgus felt at the same time the necessity of preserving to the state the power of regu-

lating all that affected her material existence. . . . Thus he selected what was just and true in both systems, suppressing their antagonism, and combining the two doctrines in a supreme unity. The Church and the science of theology gained in him an agent who united the scientific exactness of Pharmakides with the immense erudition and the grace of Economos, and knew how to avoid the exaggerations of the one and of the other. . . . The machinations against him fell powerless before the right judgment of the king, whose patriotic decision rested on the logical insistance of the inhabitants of Hermopolis, and the enlightened suffrages of the Œcumenical Patriarch, and the other Orthodox Patriarchs. Against their declarations the voice of those who had interfered in the question without understanding it, and had dared to place in doubt the religious opinions of Lycurgus, was altogether powerless. The Church and the nation were satisfied. Alexander Lycurgus was elected Archbishop of Syros and Tenos, and divine Providence permitted him to develope in this eminent post all the splendour of his vast erudition, his piety, his love of the brethren, and all his other virtues, which became the happiness of his spiritual flock, the honour of his country, the glory of the Church, and the joy of every true Greek Christian."

Thus the charges against Alexander Lycurgus fell to the ground; and there were no dissenting voices in the old Byzantine Cathedral when the solemn question was asked of the assembled people, whether he who stood before them, waiting to receive the power of the Holy Spirit for the office of a bishop, were indeed worthy (Ἄξιος) of that great and terrible gift. "Ἄξιος! Ἄξιος!" was the unanimous decision; and on the 12th of July, 1866, the consecration of the son of Logothetes as Archbishop of the Cyclades took place at Athens, with all the beautiful and significant ceremonies which are used by the Eastern Church for the dedication to her highest office of one whom she holds to be indeed a "worthy servant of God."

CHAPTER VI.

The Position and Compulsory Duties of Eastern Bishops.

IT is by no means an easy task to convey to our readers any adequate idea of the life led by the Archbishop of the Cyclades during the ten years of his episcopate, or of the extent of the work which he accomplished during that period, and relinquished only when his overtasked powers gave way beneath the hand of death; but we shall perhaps best do justice to his noble career by describing briefly the duties which are obligatory upon all bishops of the Eastern Church, and it will then be seen how far these were exceeded by the labours and responsibilities that fell to the lot of Archbishop Lycurgus, and which were due in part to exceptional difficulties connected with his diocese, but also in far greater measure to his own unusual talent and devotedness.

We must premise that the position to which Alexander Lycurgus had now been raised was one of most apostolic simplicity in respect to temporal advantages, although undoubtedly of great authority and dignity in spiritual matters. There are thirty-one dioceses in the kingdom of Greece, and each bishop residing in the capital town of a province (*nomarchia*) receives the title of archbishop. Until about twenty years ago, these bishops depended entirely upon gratuitous contributions for their emoluments, which, as we have already explained, is the case to this day with regard to the lower clergy; but since that period the Greek government has pro-

vided them with salaries, although certainly of a most modest description.

The Metropolitan of Athens receives an annual income of 6,000 drachmas (*i.e.* £215); each archbishop has 5,000 drachmas (£180); and the bishops, 4,000 drachmas (£143). They accumulate about as much again from the donations made to them, when they are invited to perform personally any of the offices of the Church on behalf of private individuals. The voluntary offerings presented to bishops on such occasions do not exceed sums varying from fifteen to thirty shillings; but even these small gifts are only taken by them from persons in easy circumstances, and to the lower classes their ministrations are always quite freely given. Every individual member of the Greek episcopate takes a part in the government of the church through the Holy Synod. This supreme body consists of five bishops, amongst whom the Metropolitan of Athens is always president. It is the rule that the other four should change every year, the archbishops and each one of the twenty-six bishops who rule the lesser dioceses taking it in turn to act as members, and attend at all the meetings;* but it is in the power of the Holy Synod to summon at other times, apart from this regular rotation, any bishop whose opinion they may wish to have on questions of importance, and, as might have been expected, the high reputation of Archbishop Lycurgus for wisdom and learning brought this special duty upon him very frequently. A short *resumé* of the fixed duties of a bishop, apart from those of moral obligation, is given in the eight article of the Greek canon law in the following terms:

"The bishop is the spiritual and ecclesiastical head of the diocese which has been allotted to him. He fulfils within his own diocese all the duties imposed upon him by the sacred canons and ecclesiastical regulations;

* There is also a lay commissioner, who has no vote, and this was the position held by Logothetes, father to the Archbishop.

maintaining absolutely the divine doctrines, celebrating correctly the holy mysteries, and observing the sacred canons and traditions of the Orthodox Church; watching also over their strict observance by those who belong to his spiritual flock. He attends to the correct celebration of all divine ceremonies; to the proper performance in the Church of all read or chanted services; to the preservation in the churches of the holy icons, the sacred vessels, the robes, and everything else appertaining to divine worship. He also watches over the spiritual condition of the monasteries, and the conduct, in accordance with the monastic rules, of those who inhabit them; as well as over the decorous state of their chapels. He is to use only the appointed seal, on which is engraved the sign of the precious cross, surrounded by the letters indicating his diocese. . . . . With regard to the occurrence of any act of his transgressing the sacred canons and traditions of the Church, and in general his ecclesiastical duties, he is responsible to, and must give account before, the Holy Synod."

The bishop judges, with the aid of four officials of the diocese named by government, all ecclesiastical faults committed by the clergy, and punishes them according to his discretion. A further clause of this 8th Article states, that to the bishop belongs the examination and ordination of priests and deacons. This duty, as performed by the Eastern bishops, differs considerably from the manner in which the examinations for Holy Orders are conducted in the English Church. The fitness and claims of all persons offering themselves for any sacred office in the Greek communion must be examined by the Holy Synod, to whom they are presented by such individual bishops as the candidates may have chosen to apply to for a recommendation. Any person so applying is privately examined by the bishop he has selected, who investigates into every particular of his character and attainments, and then, if satisfied with the result, passes him on to the authoritative examination

of the Holy Synod. As a natural consequence of this freedom of choice on the part of the candidates, they invariably seek the recommendation of any bishop who is famed for superior sanctity and knowledge; and as this was eminently the case with Archbishop Lycurgus, the constant recurrence of the labours it entailed, became a burden which weighed upon him heavily throughout the whole of his episcopate. The duties implied in the above extract from the canon law as being either actually or morally binding on Eastern bishops, are both numerous and peculiar, and have in many respects no parallel in the episcopal functions of the Church of England.

The chief pastor in Greece is bound to take his part in the Liturgy, generally as celebrant, on every Sunday and festival, as well as upon all other days which are set apart as holy. He inaugurates the Lenten Fast, and conducts the pathetic and beautiful solemnities of the "Great Week." He it is who acts as chief mourner in the solemn funeral procession with which, in the darkness and stillness of Good Friday evening, the Eastern Church commemorates the burial of her Lord. He walks in front of the ἐπιτάφιος (bier) of the Crucified, and intones the wailing chant in the office of the dead as the sad train passes slowly through every street in the city from the door of the church; to which it returns, followed by all the lamenting people, in order that the sacred bier may be laid before the altar for the four and twenty hours of watching that ensue. It is the bishop again who, in the deep gloom that shrouds the eve of Easter, suddenly at midnight lights the first taper, from which thousands more are kindled so instantaneously within the church and among the crowds around the doors, that it seems as if streams of living fire were flashing through the dark night air; then he breaks off simultaneously the funeral chant he has been murmuring in a voice sad and low, and intones the grand triumphal hymn, *Christos Anesti*, which is caught up far and near by the exulting people, till it echoes through the distance in a shout of joy.

Strangers who have once witnessed the glorious ceremony of the *Anastasin* (Resurrection) in an Eastern Church are not likely ever to forget it. But to the people themselves it would seem sadly incomplete if they did not at its close receive their Bishop's Easter Blessing.

Bishops alone, of course, can perform the rites of ordination, and the consecration of churches and burial-places; but confirmation, which follows immediately upon baptism, can be administered by any priest, as it consists simply in the anointing of the newly-baptized infant with the Holy Chrism, in order that it may receive, to use the words of the office itself, "the seal and earnest of the Holy Ghost." Nor is it customary that a bishop should be licensed as confessor. A sufficient number of priests are appointed in each parish for this duty, which however is purely perfunctory, and is held quite distinct from the direction of souls that is generally allied to it in the Western Church. The πνευματικὸς πατὴρ is by no means heavily burdened, as confession is only used in preparation for the Holy Eucharist, which Eastern Christians do not receive oftener than four times a year at the most, and it takes place generally with great brevity and simplicity in the vestry of the church on the eve of the Communion day. It is very rare indeed that absolution is withheld, while it is given with a very significant ceremony, the priest laying the end of his stole on the head of the penitent, in token that he has been brought back under the yoke of obedience to Christ, and then at once dismissing him. The office of a spiritual adviser involves, of course, much more arduous labours, and these pressed on Archbishop Lycurgus with unusual weight during the whole of his episcopate, as vast numbers resorted to him for direction and counsel.

Among the recognized duties of an Eastern bishop, however, the most unremitting and harassing are certainly those connected with special services of various kinds. It is a matter of moral obligation with him to respond

to every call made upon him by his people, for his attendance at religious ceremonies necessitated by events in their lives. The head of the family waits upon the bishop personally and conducts him, along with the five priests who are always in attendance upon him, to the house or the church where the service is to take place, and when it is over accompanies him back to his own door; but if the occasion be one of a joyous nature the bishop is expected to countenance the feast which follows, by sharing in it, as our Lord did at the marriage of Cana. Excepting among very poor persons, who could not afford the wax tapers which are always given to every person assisting at such services, an effort is invariably made to secure the presence of the bishop at baptisms, weddings, and burials, but especially at the visitation of the sick, and in the services of thanksgiving and the commemoration of the dead. These last are very numerous, and involve serious fatigue and labour to the bishop who is called to perform them.

The office of thanksgiving in greatest favour among Greek Christians, as a means of expressing gratitude for any special mercy, is termed "opening a church;" the phrase having a very different signification from that which it would possess in this country. To them it signifies the celebration at their own expense of the Holy Sacrifice in some one of the countless little deserted churches which are scattered over the whole country in Greece, and are to be found in the most lonely and inaccessible places. The existence of these half-ruined chapels is due to the fact that in early days it was the custom to build a Christian church, however small, upon the site where a heathen temple had stood, in order to counteract the original dedication of the spot to a false god. The analogy of the ancient name is always most carefully preserved in the Christian designation. Thus, temples to Minerva, including the Parthenon itself, become churches dedicated to the Panagia; those to the sun-god (always perched on

the top of some high rock) are given to the Prophet Elias, from Helios, the sun. A temple to Hercules, as the personification of physical strength, is offered to the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, because they are termed in Greece the "incorporeal powers." The sea-god, Neptune, is succeeded by St. Nicholas, patron of sailors; and the fane of the twelve gods becomes a church dedicated to the twelve apostles. Theseus, with his battles, gives place to St. George and the Dragon; and a building anciently used near Athens for the preparation of heathenish ceremonies, παρασκευὴ τοῦ πομποῦ, is now a chapel devoted to St. Paraskevi.

These lonely sanctuaries, bearing witness to the faith of Christ amid the silent and beautiful solitudes of Greece, have never been meant to be of general use, as it is indeed impossible they should be, in their distant and often perilous positions; but it is the belief of Eastern Christians that to build or restore a church, or to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in one which has been deserted, is an act of worship of an acceptable nature, quite independent of the existence of any congregation. They consider that the offering thus made is a pure means of giving glory to God; and if none were ever to enter the church but the priest, and the solitary worshipper who seeks to honour his Master thereby, they would not hold it to be a matter of the least consequence. Should any one happen to be present when the sacrifice is offered in a lonely church, it is a gain to himself; but if not, they are equally well satisfied, because in any case "God has been praised," as they say with their reverent simplicity. The ceremony of "opening a church" is generally performed as an act of thanksgiving on a birthday, or other joyful anniversary occurring in a Greek family, or on the recovery from sickness of one of its members. On these occasions it is always their special desire that the bishop himself should accompany them, in order to glorify Him whose presence is in every solitude, by offering the Holy Sacrifice upon a long-

abandoned altar, and filling with the voice of prayer and praise the walls of an ever-silent church. The appeal is one which is never disregarded by a Greek prelate, although the spot chosen is often at so great a distance that it is necessary to start over-night in order to reach it in time for the celebration to take place at sunrise. Journeying on horseback through the hours of darkness, the bishop leading the way, the worshippers carry with them all that is necessary for the solemn Eucharist; the bread of oblation consisting of small flat cakes, resembling money, to signify the price of Him who Himself is represented by the stamp of a cross, surrounded by the letters IC XC NIKA (Jesus Christ conquers), on a small square projection, which is called the "Holy Lamb;" the peculiar kind of red wine set apart for consecration; the incense and the wax tapers for the altar; and thus at early morning they reach their destination, and neither take rest nor touch food till the holy purpose of their little pilgrimage is accomplished.

It would be difficult indeed to describe the charm and beauty of the scene which follows, under the radiant light of an Eastern dawn. The doors of the time-worn little chapels stand wide open, and the grey old olive trees which always overshadow them are seen in the foreground, with the purple mountains in the distance, and the soft blush of the new-born day mantling over the cloudless sky; while in the intense stillness the sacred chants rise up through the pure calm air, and the fragrance of the incense mingles with the sweeter scent of the wild thyme. Well may it seem to the little group of worshippers, thus shut out from the world and its cares, that unwonted grace falls on them like the morning dew, and draws them strangely near unto their Lord in that fair consecrated hour.

These beautiful and joyous scenes were very congenial to the refined nature of Archbishop Lycurgus; but he was equally tender and sympathetic when he was called to officiate at any of the services in commemoration of

the dead, which in the Greek Church are of striking significance.

The communion of saints is an intense reality to Eastern Christians, and it is their custom to associate the departed who are dear to them with every event of interest in the lives of the survivors, by means of some religious ceremony. They have a service of general commemoration on All Souls' Day, called μνημόνευμα, which corresponds somewhat to the observances of the *jour des morts* in France; but this embraces the whole of the unseen Church beyond the veil, and much greater importance is attached to the special offices in commemoration of individuals. On the anniversary of the death, year by year, the friends provide for the celebration within the church of a beautiful service, when the name of the "beloved soul" is remembered before the Most High, and offerings of corn and wine are made, of which portions are sent to the poor; and this annual solemnity is continued for very long periods of time. A Greek lady, dying recently in extreme old age, left a sum of money to secure the continuation of this office in memory of her parents, for whom she herself had never once omitted to have it performed, through all the seventy years during which she had survived them.

Another touching service is solemnized over the grave on the anniversary of any event of importance in the lifetime of the departed. The bishop is invited to perform it if possible; and failing him, a priest, with whom the relations go solemnly to the burial-ground, where prayers and chants appointed for the purpose are used, with many significant customs; while no private ceremony of any kind ever takes place in the surviving family without the names of all their dead being commemorated in the Holy Sacrifice. Perhaps the most striking of all these ceremonials, however, is that which is generally performed when any person has been buried at a distance from his home. The law prohibits the removal of the body until it has been interred for two years

in the place where life has ended; but at the close of that period it is the almost invariable custom to have the coffin exhumed and opened in the presence of priests, who say certain appointed prayers over it. The bones are then collected, and carried in a small chest prepared for the purpose to a church, where they are placed at the back of the altar, and remain in that position during the celebration of the Holy Eucharist three successive times. Then the friends are permitted to carry the remains to their own home, where they are generally deposited in a building consecrated for their reception.

The common people in Greece have a curious superstition, which renders this service one of the deepest importance to them. They believe that if the body is found undecayed, it proves the deceased to have been exceptionally sinful, or that through his own fault he had been cursed by some one he had wronged, and this causes them to feel great anxiety as to the condition of the remains. A very touching instance of this strange idea occurred recently in Athens. A married couple had come there from the island of Hydra for a short visit, during which the husband suddenly died, and was buried for the prescribed two years in the city which had never been his home. The widow "could not bear," as she expressed it, "to leave him behind;" and although her children required her presence in Hydra, she waited where he had been laid through a whole year, of which she spent almost every hour in praying at the grave. At the end of that time, being obliged to return home, she determined to try and induce the ecclesiastical authorities to let her remove her dead from the temporary grave to the burial-place in Hydra, without waiting for the second year to expire. Her friends dissuaded her, lest she should find the body undecayed. "She must remember," they said, "that her husband had been in trade, and he might have been tempted to some fraud or unjust dealing, which would now be made manifest; so that she had better wait the appointed time." She

went, however, to the bishop, and with many tears and entreaties succeeded in obtaining the permission she desired. The priests assembled with her and others at the grave; and when it was opened they found, to use their own words, "the skeleton as pure as if it had been many years in the grave;" and then the widow exclaimed triumphantly, "Did I not tell you he was a just and a good man? You see he has been forgiven."

We have mentioned a few of these peculiar ceremonies to show how many daily duties an Eastern bishop has to perform of a nature quite different from the labours of our English prelates; but some of their responsibilities, in the way of general supervision are equally unknown in this country. Of these perhaps the heaviest is that involved in the general care of the religious houses, of which we shall have to speak more particularly hereafter in connection with the Archbishop's work in his diocese, where some of the largest and most important communities were placed.

CHAPTER VII.

The Islands of Syros and Tenos.

THE brief *résumé* which we have given of the ordinary duties of a bishop of the Greek Church describes but a very small portion of the arduous and responsible work which was involved for Alexander Lycurgus in the ecclesiastical government of the Cyclades. There were peculiarities connected with his diocese which rendered his new position one of unusual difficulty; and while it had the effect of manifesting, in a very remarkable manner, the purity and loving wisdom of his administration, it brought into still greater prominence his self-abnegation and resolute austerity of life.

The Archbishop left Athens immediately after his consecration, resisting the importunity of his friends, who would fain have kept him amongst them a little while to receive their congratulations and loving farewells. He would not delay an hour longer than was necessary in taking up the great burden that had fallen to his lot. "Scarcely had the staff of spiritual authority been placed in his hand," says a countryman, writing of him after his death, "when he hastened like a faithful shepherd to seek the pastures where he might feed his flock with the Bread of Life; and never from that hour did he relax his watchful care, imparting to them the truths of the holy deposit of faith committed to him by his Lord: strengthening them in sorrow, rebuking them in error, and ever tenderly ministering amongst them as one on whom lay the burden of their salvation." Arch-

bishop Lycurgus took up his abode in Hermopolis, the principal town of the island of Syros, which, from its central position in regard to the outlying portions of his diocese, was best suited to be his head-quarters. The modest dwelling in which he then installed himself continued to be his home through the whole period of his episcopate, whenever the manifold duties which necessitated his frequent journeys permitted him to remain in it. He organized his household on a system of severe simplicity, which might have served as a model for a monastic community; while at the same time he exercised a generous hospitality towards all, especially of the poorer classes, who came to seek his counsel or assistance. Archbishop Lycurgus entered upon the labours of his responsible post, with a perfect comprehension of the great difficulties he would have to encounter in some of the most important parts of his extensive see.

Syros and Tenos were the two largest islands of the beautiful group which formed his charge, and there were exceptional circumstances connected with both which had always rendered them a source of pain and anxiety to their ecclesiastical governors.

The two archbishops, Anthemius and Daniel, who had been the latest predecessors of Alexander Lycurgus on the throne of the Cyclades, had struggled in vain with the difficulties of the position, though both were saintly men, whose memory is beloved to this day; and nothing more strikingly proved his great spiritual and intellectual superiority than the manner in which he was himself enabled to overcome the painful complications of his post.

The internal condition of the islands we have named was however essentially different. Syros, standing as it does in the highway of the East, is continually visited by vessels from every quarter, and has commercial relations with many countries of the West. This has had the natural effect of giving its inhabitants a degree of cultivation and of acquaintance with modern ideas,

which would in any case have rendered them a flock less easy of government than the simple primitive people in the more retired parts of Greece; but there were other reasons which made the maintenance of peace within the borders of this island a problem which no previous bishop had been able to solve.

The principal town is divided into two distinct parts, Higher and Lower Syros, and the whole of the upper portion is exclusively inhabited by Roman Catholics. They are the descendants of those members of the Latin Church who settled in the island when it was under the dominion of the Republic of Venice; and while they have become entirely Greeks in nationality and language, they are not only rigorously tenacious of their own faith, but most bitterly hostile to the Eastern Church in every respect. They are governed by a Roman Catholic bishop, who has his residence in Syros, but whose jurisdiction extends over the whole of the Cyclades, as most of these islands, and notably Tenos and Santorin (Thera), have a portion of their population in like manner of Italian descent and religion, from the old Venetian days.

Previous to the appointment of Alexander Lycurgus to the archbishopric, a most bitter animosity had existed between the Greek and Roman Catholic Christians, which in Syros especially had been greatly envenomed, by the personal hatred that had never failed to exist between the Orthodox and the Latin bishops and their respective clergy. A chronic and unseemly warfare had rendered the island a hotbed of dissension and malevolent feeling, which were painfully at variance with the divine precepts of the Faith that was the cause of antagonism; and all who knew the true state of affairs despaired of ever seeing the evil remedied. The manner in which Archbishop Lycurgus dealt with this deep-seated difficulty was one of the most striking parts of his history. From the very commencement of his episcopate he set himself with all his powers to ex-

tinguish a hostility which he felt to be utterly unworthy of those who were in any case the followers of the same Master. In this he succeeded beyond his hopes. With no uncertain voice he rebuked the spirit of rivalry and the sins against charity which had made the island a centre of religious strife; but it was by his direct personal influence that the victory was really obtained. His gentle conciliatory treatment of the Roman Catholics, and the quiet wisdom with which he guided his own people in their dealings with them, not only entirely overcame the antagonism that had so long existed between them, but won also for himself the private friendship of the Roman Catholic bishop, with whom he remained on cordial terms throughout his whole subsequent career. It will easily be understood, however, that under such circumstances his position in Syros could not but continue to the end one of critical delicacy and trial.

The difficulties which awaited Archbishop Lycurgus in the large and populous Tenos were, however, of a very different description. This island is believed to possess an especial sanctity, by members of the Eastern Church in Greece and the Ionian Islands, as well as in the provinces of Turkey in Europe, and countless numbers throng to it in pilgrimage every year. The origin of its celebrity as a holy place dates from a circumstance which is said to have occurred during the Greek War of Independence. A bishop of that period dreamt one night that he had a vision, which impressed him in a singular manner, and seemed to indicate that a sacred icon lay buried deep in the earth, at a certain spot in the island of Tenos. In consequence of this dream he went to the place, which he at once recognized, as it was a natural grotto which contained a spring of water, and having made an excavation of great depth, he and his assistants found a very ancient icon of the Panagia, which was carefully taken out and placed in a position to be seen by the people. Within a short time after it

was reported, by those who were supposed to speak from experience, that this icon, which was undoubtedly of great antiquity, had been proved also to be θαυματουργὴ (wonder-working). It is the confident belief of Eastern Christians, at least among the lower orders, that miracles have not ceased within the Church; but in cases where these are supposed to have been effected by any material agency, such as an icon, or a stream of water, or a particular locality, they do not in the slightest degree attribute any power to the actual *media*, but simply believe that the divine Being of His good pleasure wills the prayers, which might be efficacious anywhere, to be offered through these means.

The chief benefits which were supposed to be derived from supplications made before the Icon of Tenos, consisted generally in the recovery of the sick and maimed, but more especially of the δαιμονιασμένοι, in other words, the insane; for madness in every shape is in the East believed to be caused by the possession of devils, as completely now as in the days when our Lord cast them out in Judæa. So much is this the case, that in the common language of the present day, if a person acts in any eccentric manner, a Greek says, "Are you demonized?" instead of, "Are you mad?" The report that cures of this description were effected by the Icon of Tenos soon spread far and wide, and in course of time a large church was erected over the grotto where it was placed, to which all persons afflicted with mental disease were taken.

This church is now possessed of a very considerable endowment, in consequence of the numerous and rich gifts which have been made to it by those who believed that they had derived benefit within its walls. It is even said that a wealthy Turk, though a Mahommedan in faith, had come there to test the wonder-working power of the icon, and having been cured of some bodily ailment, testified his gratitude by giving a large sum of money to the church. The funds thus obtained are

managed by a committee; and various other important religious institutions are now maintained by them in connection with the church—a free lodging-house for pilgrims, several educational establishments, and a large convent of nuns. All these, of course, are under the jurisdiction of the archbishop; but that which chiefly renders the ecclesiastical government of Tenos a most onerous charge, is the great annual pilgrimage, to visit the celebrated icon, which takes place on the 15th of August.* The festival of this day has not the same signification as in Roman Catholic countries. It is termed in the Eastern Church the commemoration of the *sleep* (κοίμησις) of the Panagia; the doctrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin not being declared by her as it is by the decree of Rome. The point is one on which the Greek Church does not dogmatize at all, in accordance with her principle of refraining from absolute definition upon mystical subjects not essential to salvation; while at the same time she does not interfere with the belief of her people in traditions which she considers worthy of belief because of their antiquity. As regards the festival of August 15, the Greek Church simply declares that on this day the mother of our Lord "fell asleep." No such word as ἀνάληψις, or any other which would imply that she was carried up to heaven, is ever used concerning her; and all the icons which commemorate the κοίμησις τῆς Παναγίας represent her lying

* The Archbishop's personal views on the subject of icons and relics were distinctly stated in the following sentences of his conference with the Bishop of Ely: "The whole man," he said, "must be sanctified. His senses must have their objects as well as his affections, sentiments, and thoughts. For this reason icons were introduced for the eyes, as music for the ears, and incense for the smell. There was a latent spirit of abstraction, or rationalism, in the first centuries, which prevented that exhibition of feeling which afterwards showed itself in the use of icons. This is shown by S. Jerome against Vigilantius. . . . . Forty years ago there was much superstition in this respect, which has now disappeared. I have had an icon taken out of my own church, and have put a stop to offerings being made to it; and I have had many icons, supposed to be miraculous, taken out of private houses, and brought to my residence, where I have retained them until the idea of their performing miracles had passed away."

on a bier, carried by a procession of priests. The general idea entertained by the common people on this subject, however, and which is probably derived from some ancient tradition, appears to assume that the sacred body of the Holy Virgin was not buried, like that of an ordinary person, but was in some mysterious manner conveyed away, although they seem to have no definite impression as to the nature of the locality to which it was taken.

The concourse of pilgrims belonging to the Eastern Church who throng to Tenos on this date is very great indeed, and is by no means limited to those who are nationally Greeks. From Syria, Turkey, and many parts of Europe, the sick and mentally-afflicted are brought to be laid within the church. The *δαιμονιασμένοι* are usually bound to the pillars before the altar until after the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, when it is hoped that they will be found restored to their right mind; while their relatives often remain for hours prostrating themselves again and again upon the pavement in supplication for their recovery. The spectacle is altogether one of the most remarkable which can be seen in Greece, and often gives rise to many strange incidents. The service which takes place on the actual festival consists simply of the usual liturgy, at which the archbishop assists; but the pilgrims remain on the island for several days. And it may well be imagined that the assembling together of a great crowd, who are not only strangers to each other, but diverse in nationality, language, and customs, is certain to engender dissensions and rivalries of a very bitter description. We believe that previous to the time when Archbishop Lycurgus entered on the charge of the island, the quarrels and disturbances which took place on these occasions were of a most serious description; but from the day that he first took his place among the pilgrims as their ecclesiastical head, the dignity and gentleness with which he presided over the whole arrangements, and the thoughtful earnestness

of his careful dealing with subjects of complaint, caused the animosities and jealousies which had hitherto been so rife, to give place as if by magic to the Christian love and courtesy of which he was himself so bright an example.

Travellers from other countries often visited the island at the time of the pilgrimage, and they were wont to note with admiration the total absence of fanaticism in the Archbishop's mode of conducting the solemnities; while the liberal-mindedness which was at all times so distinguished a feature in his character did not detract in the slightest degree from the unaffected piety with which on these occasions, as well as on all others, he carried out the teaching of his Church.

The happy results which followed from the Archbishop's wise management of this vast and strangely-mixed assemblage were not, however, limited to his own diocese. He became so well known and so greatly respected in the distant provinces from whence the pilgrims came, that his influence for good extended into regions he was never destined personally to visit; and we believe that many a deputation travelled far to lay before him difficult questions, or to gain his intervention in dissensions, which they believed could best be healed by his wise counsels.

It was not, however, only at the time of the pilgrimage that Archbishop Lycurgus felt the pressure of difficult duties in connection with Tenos. The fact that it contained one of the most important religious houses in that part of the East, would have been alone sufficient to have rendered it to him a source of constant anxiety and toil.

CHAPTER VIII.

Religious Houses in Greece.

THERE seems to exist some impression in England that the Greek monasteries have been suppressed by the government, in the same manner as those in Italy under Victor Emmanuel, and that while the old monks and nuns remain undisturbed, they are to be left to die out, and are prohibited from receiving any additions to their number. This is quite a mistake, as the measures which have been taken respecting them are only intended to reform abuses, and in no sense to put an end to monastic life altogether. The first edict which took effect respecting religious houses was in the beginning of the reign of King Otho, when it was decided to close all such monasteries as contained fewer than six monks, and to transfer the members of these small establishments to the larger communities, where the number of inmates was sufficiently great to justify the maintenance of the institution. There was no difficulty in this arrangement, so far as the rule in the various houses was concerned, since all religious in the Eastern Church, both men and women, belong alike to the order of S. Basil; and the measure was one of absolute necessity. Brigandage was rife in the country at that time; and two or three monks, often old and feeble, forming the sole inmates of some convent perched high among the hills in a picturesque solitude, were compelled by their helplessness to feed any robber band that might claim their hospitality, and so in a most literal sense to turn the house of God into a den of thieves.

There was another cogent reason for this enactment in the state of the extensive lands belonging to these very small communities, and to which it was quite impossible that a few aged men could do justice. It was undoubtedly an anomalous state of matters that the peasants, who are all small proprietors in Greece, should often be ruined by the high rate of interest they had to pay for the sums necessary for the cultivation of their land, even to the extent, in unfavourable seasons, of having to mortgage their expected crops in order to buy seed for the spring; while from year to year vast tracts of monastic lands were either lying waste or uncultivated, or yielding their natural produce to be absorbed by a few monks, who were exempt from all taxes, as well as from the conscription.

The money saved by the closing of these small convents has been used exclusively for the establishment of free schools in different parts of the country; but the difficulty of rendering strict justice to the peasant proprietors remains the same with regard to the existing monasteries. An edict has been for some time under discussion which proposes to alienate entirely all monastic lands, and by their sale to create a fund wherewith to establish a rural bank for the encouragement of agriculture; while a fixed income is to be secured to every monastery, by the government. This plan, which has not yet, we believe, passed the Chambers, has been strongly opposed, and is certainly open to objection; but neither by it nor the former measure is it intended to prevent the increase of the remaining communities, where all applicants desirous of entering the religious life are at this day received as formerly.

Archbishop Lycurgus entered anxiously into these proceedings of the legislature, as several of the largest religious societies were under his jurisdiction, and all questions of importance were referred to him. The care of them was by no means an easy part of his duties; and the nunnery at Tenos, which is by far the largest

house for dedicated women in the whole of Greece, required the especial exercise of a constant and wise supervision. The rules which guide the life of these Eastern religious, whether men or women, are extremely severe. They keep the fasts of the Church with great rigour, and spend the greater part of the night as well as of the day in devotional exercises. Although they are practically cloistered, they have ample opportunities of ministering to others; for they receive those who are sick and destitute, and have the still more onerous duty of tending insane and idiotic persons, as there are no lunatic asylums in Greece, and it is the custom to entrust all who are mentally afflicted to the care of the religious communities. The austerity of their self-discipline culminates in a singular observance, which seems to set all natural feelings at defiance. It is one of the strictest obligations of their rule that the solemn hour of dissolution should be met in absolute solitude. None must witness the closing struggle, in the case of the Greek religious, or soothe the last pains by the ministry of human affection. To God alone the passing soul has been given during the time of its mortal life, and to Him, alone it must go when the summons calls it to the more immediate presence of its Lord. The monk or nun who is sick unto death is tenderly watched by the community till it is seen that the final moment is close at hand; but there all loving care must end. The icon of the Saviour is placed before the dying eyes; the sign of the cross is made over the departing by each member of the society, as they take their leave; and then all pass out from the cell, and the door is closed, to be opened no more till a sufficient period has elapsed to make it certain that the unseen death has taken place, the interval being spent by the household in prayers for the painless release of the lonely sufferer. The calm courage with which the religious of the Eastern Church accept this severe ordeal as their last earthly experience, is frequently very remarkable.

Many of the monks under the care of Archbishop Lycurgus were men of education and culture, in whose society he could find solace for the fatigues of his periodical visitations to their distant monasteries; but the nuns were for the most part simply pious peasant women, who often gave trouble by their ignorance and bigotry. Some of their superstitious ideas are very singular. A nun of Tenos not long since was given hospitality for a night, in a house where there happened to be an ancient statue of Apollo. It stood in the room assigned to her, but she was not aware of its presence on first going to rest, or she would probably not have consented to cross the threshold at all. Next morning, however, she came to her host in great indignation, and asked how it could be supposed possible that she should be able to sleep, "with that thrice-accursed heathen walking about her room all night." Another nun, who had spent fifty years of her life in a convent within a short distance of Athens, told the writer that she had never once seen that beautiful city, or felt the smallest desire to venture so far within the confines of the wicked world (to her no doubt the very kingdom of Satan) as to enable her even to look down upon it from the hill-side near her home. Yet while they are so simple and unlearned in their daily routine, they have a strong belief in the power of their prayers to win the special intervention of miracles on their own behalf. A touching instance of this nature, which was well known at the time, is quite authentic, so far as the impression on the mind of the good woman in question is concerned. One of the most devout of the nuns of Tenos had in her secular days been in the service of a distinguished family as nurse to the eldest son, then a little boy, to whom she was deeply attached. She received a letter from his mother one day, asking her prayers for him, because he was just going to start from Athens to go to France, and complete his education there. The good nun shut herself into her cell, and spent many hours in

unremitting prayer for her nursling's welfare, with one especial supplication, that she might be permitted to look upon his face once again before he quitted his native land to brave the dangers of the world. She accompanied her devotions with incessant repetitions of the penitential act, called μετάνοιας, which consists in touching the ground first with the knees and then with the forehead, while making the sign of the cross in front of the sacred icon, which is always placed in the cell of a religious. This she did so many times that at last she became perfectly stiff, and unable to rise; and she affirms that, on looking up towards the holy picture, she saw tears falling from the compassionate eyes that were apparently fixed on her; while it is certainly true that presently she heard one of the nuns calling to her from below, "Mother Xanthi! Mother Xanthi! Come down quickly; here is your child." It was in fact the young man, who had quite unexpectedly made a journey which brought him near the convent, and had come out of his way to bid farewell to his old friend.

Besides the constant supervision of these monasteries, and other charitable institutions, Archbishop Lycurgus was more or less responsible for the right conduct of all the schools in his diocese; and the free education, offered without distinction of rank to the rising generation of the country, rendered this a duty which involved many others. There is one class in particular who are felt to have a right to the fostering care of the Church throughout their whole career. Young Greeks of the present day, even of the lowest orders, are very ambitious; and many of the peasant boys, who go through their early schooling in their own villages, come to Athens to complete their studies at the university. In order to maintain themselves during their three years' course, they take engagements as assistants in shops, or as servants in private families, where permission to absent themselves at the times required for attendance at the college lectures is given to them instead of wages, while

they work for their masters at all other hours in return for their board and lodging. These student-servants form quite a class apart, and are greatly esteemed, so that all who went from the diocese of Archbishop Lycurgus to Athens for this purpose were considered to have a special right to his assistance and guidance.

It will have been seen, from what we have already stated, that the ordinary routine of the Archbishop's duties called him continually away from his home; but his high reputation as an eloquent preacher brought upon him a heavy addition to his labours in this respect, by the constant demands of the government, that he should pronounce the funeral orations of illustrious men whose lives had been worthy of that honour. Several of these discourses were masterpieces, both in style and matter, and they are, we believe, still procurable in Athens. Amongst the number we may specially mention his speech on the death of the Prime Minister, Athanasius Miaoulis, son to the admiral of that name so justly celebrated in the War of Independence; two others spoken at the graves of Michael Bottli, the minister who had promoted Alexander Lycurgus to the Divinity Professorship; and of Prince Sontzo, formerly Hospodar of Moldavia. But by far the most striking was the splendid oration which he pronounced in the Cathedral at Athens over the bier where lay the body of the Patriarch Gregory, martyred at Constantinople fifty years before, and brought at that time from Russia to repose in the soil of his native land. It was a remarkable occasion, and one calculated to draw forth all that was most enthusiastic in the religious and patriotic feelings of Alexander Lycurgus. The Patriarch had been a martyr in the truest sense of the word; for, knowing well the doom that awaited him, he might have avoided it, and saved himself from torture and death, if he would have consented to become an apostate from the faith.

It has been our hope, in undertaking the present work,

that a record of the life of Archbishop Lycurgus may tend to make the great Eastern Church better known in this country, and may especially counteract the somewhat prevalent impression that she has long been too effete and barren to produce either saints or martyrs. We believe that a complete history of the Patriarch Gregory would greatly further this object, and trust that it may one day be told how he glorified God in his life; but we have only space in these pages to give a brief account of his heroic death, and of the singular circumstances which accompanied it.

Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople, suffered on Easter Day, 1821, when he was strangled at the gate of his own palace by the Turks, infuriated at the rebellion of his countrymen, who had everywhere arisen to enter on the Greek War of Independence. It was known that on him, the head of the Eastern Christians, the vengeance of the Sultan Mahmoud would undoubtedly fall; and Gregory's friends twice made arrangements for his escape, which might easily have been effected if he would have consented to fly. But he steadily refused, knowing that if the Moslems could not wreak their fury upon him, they would choose humbler victims from among his own people. The Patriarch possessed to the full that greater love which could render him willing to lay down his life for his friends. He stood between them and their enemies, to whose power he yielded himself up without a struggle. He was flung into prison and tortured, and finally, with his Christian constancy unshaken, was dragged forth to die in sight of an exulting crowd. Then it was that the calm dignity of the aged Saint Polycarp seemed to be reproduced in him; for, with the instruments of death before his eyes, he was offered life, and wealth, and honours, if he would declare himself a convert to the creed of Mahomet. He repelled the suggestion with scorn, and bade his executioners cease from insulting with any such proposals the servant of the Crucified. After that he spoke no

more, save in aspirations to God, till he succumbed to his cruel fate.

Since that Easter Day when the old man delivered up his brave soul to his Maker, after a long-protracted agony, it has been the belief of all Oriental Christians that powers not of earth intervened to procure for him the privilege of Christian sepulture. We give briefly the facts, as they are related in the East, without pronouncing any opinion on them. It was the special object of Gregory's enemies to prevent him from receiving burial according to the rites of his own faith, and they took every means they could devise to render it impossible. His body, tightly bound with ropes, to which were fastened ponderous stones, was taken out on the Bosphorus in a boat and flung into the water, where it sunk at once, carried down with great impetus by the heavy weights attached to it, and the executioners returned to Stamboul, satisfied that it must have reached the lowest depths. Many Christians however lingered on the shore whence he had been borne away; and some hours later, while the blazing sunshine of the East was still pouring down on the Bosphorus, a strange sight met their eyes. The body of the martyred Patriarch was seen to rise slowly out of the water, freed in some mysterious manner from the cords which had bound the huge stones to his feet and hands. As they stood amazed, he appeared to lay himself back and recline on the gently-heaving waves; while, with what seemed to be an intelligent purpose, he floated on in one undeviating direction. They could not see from the shore to what point he was tending; but meantime a Russian vessel was sailing down the Bosphorus to the Black Sea, bound for Odessa, and on the deck of it stood a Greek priest who had been chaplain to the Patriarch, and who had made his escape that morning from Stamboul, when he found that he could do nothing to save the old man's life. To his utter astonishment he now saw the venerable form he knew so well, lying as if asleep

on the calm waters; and while he watched it, awe-struck, he saw it advance steadily to the very side of the vessel where he was, and then remain motionless, as though appealing mutely to be received within it. The Russian crew, no less than the Greek priest, cried out that it was a miracle, and instantly lowering a boat, they took the body of the Patriarch on board their ship and conveyed it to Odessa, where it was buried with all the pomp that could be given to the sacred rites of the Church. The Russians, from the Emperor down to the lowest peasant, all rejoiced that their land was sanctified by the martyr's presence; but the Patriarch's own countrymen were always most desirous that he should be brought to rest in the soil of Greece. A long time elapsed before they could effect their object; at last, on the fiftieth anniversary of his death, they obtained permission from the Russian Government to remove the body of Gregory to his native land.

This was the story which Archbishop Lycurgus had to recall to the enthusiastic Greeks who stood around that time-honoured coffin, as it awaited its second burial in the cathedral at Athens. A glass had been inserted in the lid, through which the venerable head, with its long white hair, was visible; and as Alexander Lycurgus looked down upon him whom he revered as a saintly martyr, he knew also that this was the Patriarch who had been the friend and protector of his own beloved father, and whose name had doubtless ever rung in his childish ears as that of the holy man whose example he was above all others to follow. Well might the Archbishop seem almost inspired as he dilated on this congenial theme, and the memory of his fervid eloquence will long live in the memory of all who heard him.

At Syros the Archbishop's remarkable preaching is best remembered in connection with his Lenten sermons. He would never allow any one but himself to undertake the discourses delivered in that season; and it is much to be wished that some record of them could still be

procured and published. They were so purely spiritual, so simply Christian in their teaching, that they would be as useful for the instruction of members of our communion as for those of his own Church. One of his most intimate friends, the Archimandrite Methodius Papanastasopulos, recalled these striking sermons with much emotion in a speech delivered after the Archbishop's death. "Never," he said, "will the inhabitants of Hermopolis forget those discourses, marked with such singular wisdom, and so deeply instructive. Who amongst us that has ever attended on those Sundays of Lent in the churches, thronged with crowds who pressed to the very steps of the altar to hear the gentle voice of the great preacher, can deny the power of those words which seized upon the heart, while they charmed and elevated the mind of all who heard them? The Greek Church," the Archimandrite goes on to say, "does not at this day possess a single orator who can be compared to Alexander Lycurgus. He was also ever a most strict guardian of the canons of the Church, having always defended them with zeal, and sternly rebuked all who dared to transgress them. He made it his personal care to render the ornamentation of the temples of God as splendid as possible, and to see that the clergy were provided with all that was needful to maintain the dignity of the priesthood, himself furnishing the means for all those sacred purposes, until his private resources were completely exhausted."

The complete self-forgetfulness and lavish generosity with which the Archbishop habitually gave up all he possessed for the service of the Church and the good of his people, is indeed the constant theme of all who have written of him since his departure. His hospitality was boundless, and it was most heavily taxed. His well-known sanctity and wisdom caused him to be sought by all in trouble or difficulty who could by any means reach his presence, and he took care that every facility should be given to those who were desirous of

approaching him. He was always to be found at certain hours in a room of which the doors were set wide open, with free access from the street; and whosoever would might come there, to find him seated in his simple dignity, ready to give a kindly welcome to all, rich and poor alike, receiving them with no other formality than that each person had to wait their turn without distinction of rank, and entering with the utmost tenderness and patience into all their difficulties. It is said that none ever left his presence without having received consolation, which in the case of his poorer visitors often took the form of gifts for their necessities, bestowed with a liberality that contrasted strongly with his own frugal manner of life.

In the laborious discharge of the exterior duties we have attempted to describe, joined to much unobtrusive toil for the good of others, which can have no record save in the gratitude of those he benefited, Archbishop Lycurgus passed the first four years after his consecration, and the autumn of 1869 found him engaged in one steady, unremitting routine of work and devotion. Then came a change which was destined to have far-reaching results.

CHAPTER IX.

The Archbishop's Visit to England.

IN the year 1870, a large new church, which had during a considerable time been in course of erection at Liverpool, for the use of the Greeks resident there, having reached its final completion, it became necessary that a bishop should be asked to come from Greece in order to consecrate it. It was the unanimous decision of the authorities in Athens, and of all who had a voice in the matter, that the Archbishop of the Cyclades should be selected to represent the Greek hierarchy on that occasion. There has been an impression amongst those who knew Alexander Lycurgus in this country, that he came to our shores with the simple intention of consecrating the Church of S. Nicholas, and then returning unnoticed to his native land, and that he was completely taken by surprise at the enthusiastic reception he met with from many notable persons among the clergy and laity alike. This is in some respects a mistake. His hopes and wishes in visiting England went far beyond the mere performance of his duty towards his countrymen; and although, modest and unassuming as he was despite of his great powers, he could not understand why he should personally be an object of so much attention, yet a somewhat singular circumstance, which occurred before he left Athens, prevented him from feeling the astonishment he would otherwise have experienced, at the unexpected honours lavished upon him freely wherever he went.

At a time when no request for the consecration of the

church had yet been sent from Liverpool to the Holy Synod, and nothing whatever had occurred to give any idea that Archbishop Lycurgus would ever go on a mission to England, he received one day a message of very peculiar import from an aged lady, who was noted in Athens for her great piety. She was the daughter of the Admiral Apostoli, who had been one of the bravest heroes of the War of Independence; and having remained unmarried, and long outlived all her relations, she was known by the name of Κυρία Μαρία (the Lady Mary), and was much revered. The intimation she sent to the Archbishop was to the effect that she had seen a vision in the night, which much concerned him, and she proceeded to give the details of her dream, which we now repeat as they were taken down from her own lips: "She saw, as she lay silent and alone in the darkness of the night, the appearance of a splendid church on the top of a hill, magnificently lighted up and brilliant with glory. An immense crowd was in the church and before its gates, a crowd which seemed to be composed of people of a foreign nation. She tried earnestly to get into the building, but could not succeed. She then asked what was taking place within this strange and beautiful church, and she was told that a service was being performed with unwonted splendour because of the presence within this foreign temple of the Archbishop Lycurgus of Syros and Tenos." Kuria Maria then awoke, deeply impressed with the conviction that some strange event was about to befall the prelate, who was then quietly pursuing the ordinary duties of his position in his own diocese. Although it is strongly believed in the East that at this day, as in the times of old, God speaks to men in the visions of the night, Alexander Lycurgus only received this account with a gentle smile; for nothing seemed to him more unlikely than that he should leave his native land and appointed sphere of work to assist at a service in a foreign church, where crowds would assemble to do him honour. Pre-

cisely three days later the first letter arrived from Liverpool, which intimated to the Holy Synod the desire that a bishop should be sent to England; and in the course of a short time the scene witnessed by Kuria Maria was enacted in many a church in England, where Archbishop Lycurgus assisted at brilliant services, surrounded by crowds who showed all honour and reverence to the learned and enlightened bishop of the great Eastern Church.

It will be seen that in the letters written by Archbishop Lycurgus from England to his sister, he makes frequent allusions to the singular fulfilment of Kuria Maria's dream. When however it was finally decided by the Holy Synod that he should come to this country, the objects with which he undertook his mission were by no means limited to the simple function of consecrating the new church at Liverpool. He was himself too well versed in the progress of modern thought in other lands, not to be perfectly aware of the strong desire for the reunion of Christendom which had sprung up in England and elsewhere; and he was naturally desirous of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the Church of England, in order that he might judge for himself how far she retained what he considered the essentials of orthodoxy; while the interchange of courtesies which had taken place at different times between English and Eastern bishops had aroused a general feeling in Greece, that the visit of one of their prelates to England might have sufficiently important results to make it desirable that the most distinguished member of their hierarchy should be chosen for that purpose.

Speaking many years previously on the subject of reunion to a person who, being closely allied both to England and to Greece, was specially interested in the subject, Archbishop Lycurgus expressed his earnest longing to see the day when intercommunion might become possible, although at that period the prospect of it was greatly more hopeless than it appears to be

now; and he then declared that, in so far as he could ever have a voice in the matter, he would willingly concede every point which was not held in the unchanging faith of his Church as an absolute essential. He gave at the same time a definition of the differences which he considered to be vital, in almost the same words as those in which he spoke long afterwards to the Bishop of Winchester, and which were thus quoted during the discussion in Convocation upon intercommunion on the 16th of February, 1876:

"When I met Archbishop Lycurgus," said the Bishop of Winchester on that occasion, "and discussed with him for two days the prominent points of difference between the Anglican and Greek Church, he said there were three classes of difference in the Greek Church. One was vital; the second was to be corrected; and the third was comparatively unimportant. The one which he said was vital was that of the Eternal Procession. That, he said, was the vital point of difference between us; and if we could not come to an understanding upon that, there was no possible hope that we could ever have intercommunion."

Archbishop Lycurgus certainly little expected, either at the earlier or later period when he spoke thus of these "vital points of difference," that the very last service he would be enabled to render to his Master, the Prince of Peace, in this world, would be the successful attempts which he made, at the Bonn Conference of 1875, to lessen the difficulties existing between the Eastern and Western Churches on the crucial question of the Filioque. It was, however, doubtless with the deliberate purpose of learning on behalf of his own communion all that he could possibly ascertain respecting the faith and practice generally of the Church of England, that Alexander Lycurgus came to this country in the commencement of the year 1870.

The Archbishop, accompanied by his chaplains, Parthenios and Jogas, and some other persons, embarked

from Syros on the 15th of December, 1869 (O.S.), and reached Liverpool on the 22nd of the same month (O.S.); so that according to our computation he arrived in England at the commencement of the month of January, 1870. The Anglo-Continental Society had been the first to draw the attention of English Churchmen to the fact that a bishop of the Greek Church was about to visit our shores; the Rev. C. G. Curtis, corresponding secretary of the society in Constantinople, having announced the approaching journey of the Archbishop of the Cyclades before he had even left the port of Syros. The full significance of the event was thoroughly appreciated by the society's members in England, and almost the first welcome which he received on touching English soil was conveyed to him on their behalf.

The Archbishop took up his abode at the house of his countryman, Mr. Papayani, of Shaw Street, Liverpool; and here, very shortly after his arrival, the Archimandrite Stratulis delivered to him letters of respectful greeting from the Anglo-Continental Society, and presented him at the same time with various of their publications in Greek, Latin, and German. The Greek works consisted of Bishop Andrews's *Devotions;* Bishop Cosin *On the Doctrine, Rites, and Discipline of the English Church;* the Rev. F. Meyrick's *Papal Supremacy Tested by Antiquity;* the *Encyclic of the Lambeth Conference;* and the *Letter of Archbishop Longley to the Patriarchs of the Ancient Orthodox Church,* commending the Encyclic to their attention. These works, together with the Latin and German publications of the society, and the modern Greek Prayer-book of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, were accepted by the Archbishop with very great pleasure, and he studied them carefully during his stay in Liverpool. He remained there rather longer than he expected, as some of the arrangements necessary for the consecration of the Church of S. Nicholas were not quite completed; and during this time he received an invitation from the clergy of the

Church of S. Margaret's to assist at their evening service. Archbishop Lycurgus agreed to this request, in accordance with his determination not only to make himself acquainted with the English Church, but to do what he could also for the hope of future unity by joining in our services, so far as it was possible for him, in a spirit of Christian fellowship. S. Margaret's was therefore the first of the many English churches in which, throughout his sojourn here, he worshipped the Head of the Universal Church after the manner of our communion. He was present at the evening service, and showed his true catholicity of spirit by consenting, at the request of the incumbent, to give his blessing to the kneeling congregation—an act which subsequently he performed on every occasion when he was present at our services.

On the first Sunday of the Greek New Year, the Church of S. Nicholas was consecrated by the Archbishop with the full Eastern rites, in the midst of a large congregation of Englishmen and Greeks, and in the presence of representatives on behalf of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. During his residence in Liverpool, Archbishop Lycurgus investigated with much care into the spiritual condition of members of the Orthodox Church in that city, and took measures for the remedy of any evils which he found existing amongst them; and this he did afterwards in the same manner in every town in England visited by him, where his countrymen were resident. It had been his intention, when he first left Greece, to arrange that after his duties were completed in Liverpool, he should make a quiet tour through England, accompanied only by his archimandrites; but he soon found that the attention and hospitality likely to be bestowed upon him, would make his journey one of a very different description from that which he had anticipated.

Four days after the arrival of Archbishop Lycurgus in England he received a letter of greeting from the Archbishop of Canterbury, who informed him that he

had requested the Rev. George Williams, so well known in connection with the East, to act as his guide during his stay in England. A better choice could not have been made; and Alexander Lycurgus afterwards described his new friend as "a man of deep learning, a Philhellene as well as a friend of orthodoxy, who had made two journeys to the East, and had written and done much to promote the union of the two Churches." The Archbishop was also accompanied during part of his tour by the Rev. F. Meyrick, whose labours on behalf of the Anglo-Continental Society had brought him into close relations with "the Friends of Spiritual Enlightenment," and other notable members of the Greek Church, in Russia and elsewhere, so that he was especially well-qualified to assist the Archbishop in his endeavours to ascertain the real differences existing between the Churches of the East and West. Before leaving Liverpool Archbishop Lycurgus received a deputation from a branch of the English Church Union, who presented to him an address of welcome, in which they spoke of their hopes that intercommunion might ultimately be restored. He answered by warmly reciprocating their desires, and said that he should count himself happy if he could co-operate in their "God-pleasing exertions" to that end; and "more happy still if the Lord should vouchsafe him to see in his days the Anglican Church and the time-honoured mother of all Churches firmly knit together and indissolubly united, not only in the bonds of love, but also by identity of doctrine." It is worthy of remark that in this answer Archbishop Lycurgus claims for his Church precisely that virtue in which she has always been considered most deficient. The charge persistently brought against her, that she has never been a missionary Church, contrasts strangely with his declaration on this occasion, "that the Orthodox Eastern Church, of which by divine mercy he was an humble follower, having, from the earliest times of Christianity, in many and various ways fought bravely, and *beyond any other perseveringly*

toiled for the propagation of the gospel, at the same time strove to the utmost, amidst many ordeals, to preserve pure and uncorrupted the sacred deposit of the faith, as a precious heirloom, and a touchstone by which every profession of faith among the nations of Christendom may be tested." The interview was closed by the deputation kneeling to receive the episcopal benediction in Greek; and the Archbishop makes allusion to the circumstance in the first letter which he sent to his sister Cleopatra from England. It was written when he was staying at Hawarden Castle, to which place he proceeded immediately after leaving Liverpool, on the invitation of Mr. Gladstone, who was thus the first to welcome him as a guest in an English home. Archbishop Lycurgus always spoke to his friends in glowing terms of the enjoyment he had experienced in this hospitable house, and a friendship was then commenced between himself and his host, which was not only ever after a source of the deepest pleasure to him, but was destined also to prove the solace of his last hours of life.

In the following letter to Madame Cleopatra Marillon, the blessing which the Archbishop asks on the hand that ordained him to the priesthood, is in allusion to the animosity which his passionately-attached sister still felt against those who had been instrumental in consigning her brother to the life of an ecclesiastic; a feeling which was probably enhanced by the fact that his sacred calling had at this time taken him from home, to brave what were to her the unknown dangers of a foreign land.

"DEAREST SISTER,—To-day is our new year, and therefore I write to wish you and your children every blessing. I have not written to you since I arrived here because time was not given to me, and as I cannot tell you to-day in detail all about myself, I have ordered Parthenios to make a copy of his letter to his uncle, which I here insert. In it you will see that the vision of Kuria Maria has been fully accomplished. Universal

honours were awaiting me in this country" (as a dignitary of the Greek Church), "honours which I could never have even fancied. May the hour be blessed during which I put on the priest's robe! May the hand be blessed which transferred to me the gift of the priesthood! . . . . Give my blessings to Kyrillos, and tell him that I cannot write in answer to his letter. I only say to him that he did wrong not to come; he would have been much more useful to the Holy Sepulchre here. I did not fail to mention to Mr. Gladstone the injustice which was done to the Holy Sepulchre, and to the other holy establishments; and when I visit him in London I will again tell him what is necessary. I will also write to the Patriarch about what is to be done. Rosaries and pebbles of the Jordan, and the Mountain of Olives, with crosses and rings, and brooches of mother-of-pearl, must immediately be ordered by Kyrillos from Jerusalem for Mr. Gladstone's daughters, because I promised such to them.

"I do not write to you more because I have not time. The preparations for the consecration, the visits of our countrymen, the invitations from the English, and a great many more occupations, have kept me in continual movement. A short time since about thirty Englishmen came to me, as a deputation from a large society, which counts many members all over England, and which is working for the re-union of the Churches. They presented a beautiful address to me, which I answered in a short speech; but that which was most touching was when they all knelt before me, and asked me to give them the Benediction, as representative of the Orthodox hierarchy. The Greeks who happened to be present at this most touching moment could not restrain their tears. . . . . I embrace you and your daughter (Irene) with all my heart, and remain, with the hope that I shall soon receive a letter from you, telling me all your doings,

"✠ Your brother ALEXANDER,

"Archbishop of Syros and Tenos.

"Our countrymen are quite enchanted with the Patriarch's letter, and the cross which he sent as a present to their church, and intend to answer soon."

Archbishop Lycurgus left Hawarden with a regret which was mitigated by the arrangement made between himself and Mr. Gladstone, that they were to meet again in London; and he then proceeded to Bishopthorpe, where he had been invited by the Archbishop of York, to remain for some days as his guest. He attended evening service at the Minster the day after his arrival, and was deeply impressed by the scene, as he stood by the side of his brother-archbishop, and heard the choral service magnificently rendered, while an immense congregation swelled the responses and joined in the hymns. The spectacle of that noble Minster and its worshipping people, as he thus witnessed it, lit up by the sunset rays, was one on which he loved to descant long after among his friends in Athens. We subjoin his own quaint description of this visit, in a second letter to his sister Cleopatra.

"DEAREST SISTER,—I write to you from the town of York, the birthplace of Saint Helena. I write from the palace of the archbishop of this city, who repeatedly asked me to come and visit him; but as I have not time to write to you at length, I ordered Parthenios as before to keep copies of two letters which I sent by last post to the Protosyngellos at Syros, that you might have a continuation of all that I communicated to you in my last letter. 'Kuria Maria's dream continues always to be accomplished. Yes, it is impossible to represent to you by writing the honours which are everywhere offered to me in England! The archbishop of this place, who is one of the first lords of Parliament and second after the Archbishop of Canterbury, made a point of surpassing the others in his attention. He came to meet me at Hull, about an hour's journey from York. He gave me

the rooms which the Queen's son and daughter inhabited when they visited him, and to-day accompanied me himself to the photographer's, along with his wife. She is a beautiful young woman, half a Greek, as she is the daughter of Mr. Skene, who used to live in Greece, and of a sister of M. Rangabé. The archbishop had me photographed in the episcopal robes, which he liked very much. The day before yesterday, in the evening, I went with him to the Cathedral of York, which is the finest church in England, where a large crowd and all the clergy were waiting. There the principal priest made an address to me, which he afterwards gave to me translated into Greek. I answered it in German, improvising as follows: 'I do not understand your language, unhappily,' I said, 'but my heart understands all you say, and feels a vivid emotion full of gratitude. I have also reason to be more than usually moved to strong feeling in your city. It is from this town that Constantine the Great started at first at the head of his army, and went to the East, where he abolished idolatry, and raised the hitherto persecuted religion of Christ to the throne. He called together the Synod of Nicea, and ever upheld the true faith. Later he founded the greatest city in the East, which to this day bears his name. He died in the East, and his memory remains with us full of blessings. The mother of Constantine the Great, Saint Helena, was born in this city. She also went to the East, and through her great piety contributed to the support of the Church of Christ. She built magnificent churches in Palestine and elsewhere, to the glory of her Saviour; and she died in the East, and her memory also is always held by us in honour. Do not all these facts unite your city with the East, as the whole of England is united to us by what happened to Theodore from Tarsus?* You wish now to give life to this tie by the

* The allusion of the Archbishop in this passage is to Theodore, who was Archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century, and who was born in Tarsus, in Cilicia. He occupied the archiepiscopal throne, as seventh in

honour which, through my person, you render to the Orthodox Church of the East, and by the love which your archbishop, my brother in Christ, so vividly shows to me. May God bless this tie, and make it stronger still, until we all arrive at one unity and *hold the same truths in our Lord'* (the italics are the archbishop's own). After finishing this address they asked me to give them the Benediction, and immediately all knelt, along with their archbishop, and I gave them the blessing. . . . To-day I leave for the town of Lincoln, where the bishop of that place is awaiting me. . . . A short time since a good friend, M. Sophiano, who also belongs to my suite, because I everywhere draw many with me, said to me, 'Your father or your mother gave you, it seems, a blessing from the heart; and the hour was favourable; it has been fully accomplished!' But my paper is at an end, and I must close my letter, embracing you and your daughter, and giving my blessing to Kyrillos and all friends.

"York, the 19th of January, 1870.

"✠ Your brother ALEXANDER."

After leaving Bishopthorpe, Archbishop Lycurgus proceeded at once to Lincoln, where his visit to Bishop Wordsworth, at Riseholme, proved to be one of the most noteworthy events of his residence in England, from a variety of circumstances, as we shall now have occasion to show.

succession from Augustine, for twenty-two years, and died at the age of eighty-eight years. He was the first primate whom the whole English Church obeyed, and to him belonged the honourable privilege of having united the British Christians converted by the East with the later English converts of the West.

CHAPTER X.

The Archbishop's Visit to Lincoln and Nottingham.

ARCHBISHOP LYCURGUS was accompanied wherever he went in England by two archimandrites, a deacon, and an interpreter; but on arriving at the residence of the Bishop of Lincoln he found to his unexpected gratification that the services of this latter functionary were not at all required there, and that his host could converse with him in his own language. In earlier life Bishop Wordsworth had spent a considerable time in Greece, and his residence in these classic regions bore fruit in his well-known works on Athens and Attica, and enabled him now to speak with perfect facility in the purest Greek to his Eastern brother-bishop. This proved to be a source of very great pleasure to Alexander Lycurgus, as he was thus enabled to discuss with the Bishop many matters which were full of interest to himself, and especially those theological points on which Greece, Rome, and England appeared to be more or less in harmony. Perhaps, however, the moments of keenest delight which the Archbishop enjoyed during the whole course of his visit to England, were those which he spent one day in the private chapel at Riseholme during the performance of the evening service; for on that occasion the Bishop of Lincoln not only read the second lesson in Greek, but recited also the Nicene Creed in the original

language, and therefore without the addition of the Filioque.* On leaving the chapel the Archbishop expressed in the most ardent manner his delight at having thus heard the symbol of his faith, in his own beautiful language, in this foreign land, and been enabled thereby to share in the worship of the English Christians. He wrote a long enthusiastic account of this, and all other incidents of his visit to Riseholme, in a letter to his sister Cleopatra, which her kindness would have enabled us to place before our readers, had it not unhappily, we believe, shared the fate of other valuable documents forwarded to us from Greece, which went down in the wreck of the unfortunate vessel, the *Trinacria*, when it foundered in 1876 in the Ægean Sea. Subsequently, however, in writing from Cambridge, the Archbishop again alludes to that exceptional service as follows: "I enclose to you the discourse composed by the Bishop of Lincoln, and translated by himself into Greek, as well as my answer to it. This Philhellenic bishop, about whom I have written at length to my sister Cleopatra, entertained us in his house, and read the usual portion of the New Testament belonging to the evening service in the original Greek, saying afterwards, 'Out of regard to our friends I have read the gospel in a language not familiar to you all, but which is the original form of the New Testament, and the only language which could present with real grandeur the divine truths of Christianity, and which was chosen for that purpose by the divine Providence. The presence of the Archbishop has furnished

* As this is a matter which has been somewhat misunderstood, we subjoin a note appended by the Bishop of Lincoln to his very able sermon on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, in which he says, "Let me be allowed here to offer a reply to some who have charged me with *omitting* the *Filioque* in the Nicene Creed, on the occasion of the visit of the Archbishop of Syros to Riseholme, and of his presence at our family prayers in the chapel there. I *omitted nothing* in the Creed. I recited the Creed in the Greek language in order that the Greek ecclesiastics present might join in it, and I did not, and could not *interpolate* the Creed with the words καὶ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ, which never were in the Creed, and could not therefore be *added* by me to it, or *omitted* from it."

us with the happy occasion to read the gospel in the language of S. Paul.'"

The days spent by Archbishop Lycurgus at Riseholme were ever after remembered by him with extreme pleasure, and he often spoke with enthusiasm of the happiness he had enjoyed in the society of the Bishop of Lincoln, to whom the close and sympathetic companionship of that short period had linked him in a friendship which terminated only with his life. It was therefore a great satisfaction to him to find when he left this hospitable home, on the 2nd of February, that he was not to be immediately parted from his much-esteemed host, as he was accompanied by the bishop and his family to Nottingham, where a ceremony was about to take place at which it had been arranged that Archbishop Lycurgus should assist. This was the consecration of the bishop's suffragan of Nottingham, the *chorepiscopus*, as the Greek Archbishop correctly termed him, and the occasion was one which was naturally specially interesting to him. Not only did it give him an opportunity of witnessing the English form of the great rite which had been performed on his own behalf in the Byzantine Cathedral at Athens, but it was also the first occasion on which he was present at a celebration of the Holy Eucharist in this country. The consecration took place in S. Mary's Church, at Nottingham, and Archbishop Lycurgus, with his archimandrites and deacon, were placed during the ceremony within the chancel rails, at the south side, facing north. They stood during the whole service, including the administration of the Holy Communion. This attitude in their case betokened the deepest reverence they could show, as members of the Greek Church always stand at their devotions, receiving the Blessed Sacrament itself in that position; and they never kneel excepting on Orthodox Sunday, when they do so in honour of the Holy Trinity, commemorated on that day. The Archbishop was greatly impressed with the service, and full of fraternal sympathy

for his newly-consecrated brother. The Bishop of Lincoln, recalling this occasion when speaking of the visit of the Greek Prelate to this country, in the discussion on intercommunion in Convocation of February 15th, 1876, remarked, "He came on an interesting occasion into S. Mary's Church, at Nottingham, when the first suffragan bishop since the Reformation was consecrated, and I shall never forget the affection with which, when the ceremony was over, on coming into the vestry, he put his arms round the neck of the newly-consecrated bishop, and gave him the kiss of peace, exclaiming, 'I trust that when the great day comes you will be able to give a good account of the stewardship this day entrusted to you.'" Bishop Wordsworth then read a letter from Archbishop Lycurgus, in which he said that he and others of the Greek Church prayed earnestly and constantly for re-union with ourselves; and this letter, which is very striking, will be found in the original in our appendix.

When the religious ceremonies were over on the consecration-day, a dinner was given at Nottingham to the Greek and English bishops, at which many of the English clergy had an opportunity of meeting the Eastern ecclesiastics. At its close the Bishop of Lincoln rose to propose the health of the Archbishop of the Cyclades, and in a graceful speech recalled various circumstances which had connected the Church of England with that of Greece in times past. He said that we had even been called an offshoot of the Greek Church, and at least we were certainly indebted to her for that Archbishop of Canterbury who came from the very birthplace of the apostle of the Gentiles, and was Primate of England in the seventh century—Theodore of Tarsus. At a later period a Patriarch of Constantinople sent a messenger to Oliver Cromwell with a letter to enquire why Charles I. was put to death; but the message very much puzzled Oliver Cromwell, as there was only one man who could be found to read the Romaic, and he was in prison.

Archbishops Tenison and Wake had both manifested much friendliness to the Greek Church, and in our own day this friendliness had been well maintained. In 1841 Bishop Howley sent letters commendatory, which were well received. His successor, Archbishop Longley, sent the Lambeth Encyclical, which was welcomed with great enthusiasm and friendship by the Primate of Constantinople and the bishops under him. Subsequently the same archbishop had requested the Bishop of Lincoln to frame letters commendatory for the Bishop of Gibraltar, which were everywhere received and read with enthusiasm; and he had received a letter from Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople, in which he responded very affectionately to that missive. Bishop Wordsworth then spoke of Archbishop Lycurgus as one of the most learned theologians in Greece, who had studied at celebrated seats of learning in Europe, was a writer of great works, and had shared in the deliberations of the Holy Synod in Greece. He was indeed not merely a theologian, but a very excellent classical student, although he did not know our barbarous tongue. The Bishop of Lincoln translated this last expression to the Greek prelate, who sat by his side, and heard it with great amusement, assuring his friend, in reply, that he much regretted his ignorance of our language, which he did not consider at all barbarous. Bishop Wordsworth then read a very striking address in Greek, which will be found, along with the reply of Archbishop Lycurgus, in our appendix. The Bishop of Lincoln little thought, doubtless, how soon the prayer with which he concluded his remarkable speech would be fulfilled in the case of his Eastern brother. Having asked that the good God would grant his Grace prosperity in all things, and a happy journey and safe return to his native land, he added, "May He preserve and carry you through all the storms of this troublesome world to the calm and waveless harbour of everlasting life." The storms of this mortal state were yet for a little time to beat round the head of him to whom he

spoke, with greater violence than ever before; but the waveless harbour of eternal rest was even then far nearer to Alexander Lycurgus than any could have dreamt who saw him apparently in the prime of his days, and full of energy and vigour.

Some few sentences of the Archbishop's answer we must give here in a translation, for the benefit of those who may not be able to read it *in extenso* in the appendix. After speaking of the emotion he felt at the brotherly affection shown by the English towards the Orthodox Church, he continued thus: "I bless the most holy name of the Lord that the presence of my humility in the midst of you, has effected something for the quickening of that love which the epistle of the most holy Œcumenic Patriarch Gregory to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has kindled so brightly in your hearts, full of love to Christ. I fervently pray to the Lord that, daily being established and advancing in this love, we may be foremost in this unanimity, ... and to give the watchword of that unity which is so much to be desired and prayed for, and may join together the seamless robe of Christ our Saviour, which has been rent so shamefully—that robe which, after having been torn in various ways by Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Dioscorians, and the rest of the band of heretics of evil name, is even now rent more and more, after their example, by the arrogance of the Latin Church, which, on the one hand, impiously and licentiously aspires to the divine glory, distracts the peace of all the Church, and tears asunder the bond of union in Christ; and, on the other hand, by that spirit of ill-conceived liberty according to which all the bands of the ancient Church are severed with a daring hand, and the everlasting landmarks which our fathers set are being removed, and the whole form of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church is subverted, and a single branch of the Church represents itself as if it were the whole body, and with another kind of arrogance claims universal headship."

We have given these sentences to show after what manner the pretensions of the Church of Rome are regarded in the East.

When this memorable day at Nottingham was over, Archbishop Lycurgus was constrained to take leave reluctantly of the Bishop of Lincoln, though not guessing then that he was never to have the happiness of meeting him again in this world. Through the years which followed that final parting, however, there was much friendly correspondence between them, and the gift of some souvenirs from Archbishop Lycurgus to his friends at Riseholme, called forth the following beautiful verses from the Bishop of Lincoln, which we give with his own introduction:

"His Grace the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, who is distinguished by his learning and eloquence among his Eastern brethren, recently sent, as a token of friendship, to the Bishop of Lincoln, a present of cameos of mother-of-pearl representing the birth, baptism, and resurrection of our blessed Lord, and a bas-relief of the transfiguration; and a gift of rings and chains for members of the bishop's family, together with Greek honey and Eastern sweetmeats. This courteous remembrance of friendly intercourse in England gave rise to the following acknowledgment:

ΤΩΙ ΠΑΝΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΙ ΣΥΡΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩΙ
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΛΙΓΚΟΛΝΙΑΣ
ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΚΥΡΙΩΙ.

Χαῖρέ μοι Ἑλλήνων λογιώτατε, χαῖρε κράτιστε
Ἀρχιερεῦ, σεμνῆς ἄνθος ὁμηλικίης.
Δῶρά σεθεν χαρίεντα, σοφῆς τεχνάσματα χειρός,
ἠσπασάμην ἱλαρῶν ἀγκαλίσιν, πραπίδων
Μικτὰ δίδως ξουθῶν ἡδύσμασιν ἔργα μελισσῶν,
ἡδυλόγου γλώσσης σύμβολα, καὶ φιλίας·
Θαύματ' ἐδωρήσω λευκαῖς τετυπωμένα κόγχαις,
ἀγλαὰ σημείων δείγματα θεσπεσίων.

Τὸν ΘΕΟΝ ἔκ τε ΘΕΟΥ γεννώμενον ἄνδρα θεωρῶ,
ἄφθιτον ἐκ θανάτου πρωτότοκον νεκύων.
Ἐνσάρκον βάπτισμα ΛΟΓΟΥ καὶ ῥεῦμα δέδορκα
ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ἁγνισθὲν ζωοδότου χάριτι·
Θαυμάζω ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ δόξῃ στίλβοντα φαεινῇ
εἵματα, καὶ φωνὴν σχιζομένης νεφέλης·
Δακτυλίους, ὅρμους τε, φίλης ἑνότητος ἄγαλμα,
γηθοσύναις παρὰ σοῦ χερσὶν ἐδεξάμεθα.
Ω ΘΕΟΣ εἰρήνης, δοίης δεσμοῖσιν ἑνοῦσθαι
Ἄγγλους Ἕλλησιν τῆς ἀγάπης ἀλύτοις·
Εἴθε μίαν Πιστιν, μίαν Ἐλπίδα, συντηροῦντες
συνναίοιμεν ἀεὶ πατρίδ' ἐπουρανίαν.

RISEHOLME, LINCOLN,
July 15th, 1871.

From Nottingham the Archbishop and his suite, accompanied by Mr. Williams and Mr. Meyrick, proceeded to Peterborough, where they attended the cathedral service. Here, somewhat to their amusement, the verger proved to be greatly disquieted in his mind because the Eastern ecclesiastics, as he expressed it, "kept their hats on in church." Having had luncheon with Canon Argles, and a pleasant interview with the Bishop of Peterborough, they went on to Ely, where they were received with a brotherly welcome by the bishop of the diocese, now the Bishop of Winchester. They remained a day longer at Ely than had been originally planned, in order to hold a conference with him on all the matters at issue between the Greek and Anglican Churches. This conference was of extreme importance, as it enabled Archbishop Lycurgus clearly to understand what were the points of agreement and difference between the two Churches, and the arguments by which the positions of the Church of England were maintained by one of the wisest of her prelates. It took place at the Palace, Ely, on the 4th of February, 1870, between the Archbishop of the Cyclades, attended by the Archimandrite Stratulis and M. Tymbas, members of the Orthodox Eastern Church, and the Bishop of Ely, attended by the Rev.

George Williams and the Rev. F. Meyrick, members of the Church of England. A report of this conference was afterwards published by the Anglo-Continental Society, and a few years later it was translated into modern Greek, and published at Constantinople. It is of the deepest interest, although unhappily too long to be quoted here. In the course of the discussion Archbishop Lycurgus undertook to supply at a future date a *résumé* of the arguments which were to be derived from antiquity in favour of the practice of invocation; and this he accordingly did, at a subsequent period, in a letter to the Rev. F. Meyrick, which ended as follows:

"I remember with the liveliest love and heartfelt affection your great and happy country, and I keep in my mind and in my heart the places through which I passed, and the friends by whom I was received with a magnificent hospitality. I assure you that from that time there has grown up on our side too a lively affection for your Christ-loving nation, and the greatest desire for an increase of brotherly relationship towards your Church, which is so attached to orthodoxy and antiquity. May the Lord fulfil the prayers offered up by you and by us in the way which He knows to be best."

The Bishop of Winchester and his Greek brother parted, after the conference, with mutual esteem; and the former, speaking of Archbishop Lycurgus in Convocation, said that he had expressed his surprise at the beauty and purity of religion in this country, and that while he did not see the slightest ground for hope of union with the Church of Rome, and did not find any reason to hope for union with the Protestants of Germany, he yet felt, with regard to the English Church, there might be, at some future time, intercommunion with Her.

CHAPTER XI.

The Archbishop's Visit to the Universities and to Windsor.

DURING the period of the Greek Archbishop's stay in England he was received as a guest, with what he terms "a magnificent hospitality," by various distinguished persons, such as the Marquis of Salisbury, the Earl of Glasgow, Mr. Beresford Hope, the Bishop of London, and others, with all of whom he conversed much on the great question of re-union, and kindred subjects; but there can of course be no record of these private visits, and we must only touch on the more public events of his English tour. Of these his visits to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to Windsor, were among the most interesting; and we have letters written by him from each of these places which give some idea of his impressions regarding them, and of the matters which were occupying his mind at the time. He had made careful arrangements for visiting every town where there was a Greek Church, in order that he might celebrate the liturgy and preach to his countrymen, into whose spiritual wants he always anxiously enquired; and he alludes to a visit of this nature at Manchester, in the following letter sent to a friend in Athens from Cambridge:

"Cambridge, 6th February, 1870.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I thank you very much for all the letters you have sent me until now, and I beg you to excuse my not having been able to answer them im-

mediately. The Rev. George Williams, a Philhellenic and philorthodox man, who accompanies me as representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury, shewed me in the railway carriage the article in the *Neologos*, in which you speak already, in December, of my visit here, and asked me who wrote it; adding the remark that you "speak as a prophet," and indeed your words have been true prophecies. The reception I have met with from the clergy and people of England has been most enthusiastic. In Manchester there exists a Greek community, and there, as elsewhere, a discourse was made to me, not only by the clergy of the town, but by those of the environs, who assembled there to meet me. . . . . Last Sunday they invited me to one of the principal churches of that town, to hear an evening service chanted, with most beautiful music. It is true I at first tried to avoid it, but afterwards I was induced to consent. . . . About a hundred priests, robed in white, received me at the door of the church, and the chief among them made me a speech in German, in the name of the clergy. They then led me in procession, accompanied by music, into the beautifully-lighted church, and conducted me to a throne which had been prepared for me. On either side floated the Hellenic banner, and the altar was ornamented with flowers and lights. After the service the principal clergyman made a discourse, which ended with the enclosed address, which he made to me in Greek. From this copy of it you can form an idea of the enthusiasm which now reigns over all England for the Eastern Church. After the end of the discourse various hymns were sung, among others the Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα, in Greek, as it had been already set for our Church. I then, accompanied by all the clergy, left the church. As I was passing through the crowd all those standing on either side knelt down, asking for my Benediction. I blessed them, saying aloud, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with you all.'

"I then came here, where I had been invited by this University to receive, according to their custom, the degree of 'Doctor Legum.' The ceremony will take place to-day, and to-morrow I go to the house of the Marquis of Salisbury, who has invited me to reside there. He is one of the most distinguished orators of England. On Saturday we proceed to Oxford, which is, as you know, the first university town of England. There I shall receive, next Monday, the degree of Doctor of Theology; in other words, the nation and the Church and the Universities of England have chosen to dispense to me every possible honour, in order to show thereby their respect and sincere love for the Eastern Church. A Calvinist clergyman of Lausanne, in Switzerland, has written a letter to the celebrated Dean of Westminster, in London, to say that the clergy of England had done well to show such honour to the representative of the Eastern Church; so that you see even the Calvinists are beginning to feel the necessity of reconciliation with the Eastern Church. If I have time to-day I will send you a translation of that curious letter. In the ecclesiastical Parliament of England there has been a serious discussion as to the conditions on which union with the Eastern Church ought to be accomplished, and a committee was named of six bishops and other clergymen to consider it. You see how great a movement has been produced by the presence of one unworthy member of the Eastern Church.

"The Greeks ought to learn that if anything good is done for our nation it will be done through the Church, and they must turn their attention more towards her. They must respect her more than they have hitherto done. Let them show the same zeal as is shown here for re-union. I wish this all the more, that I know there exist among us many Pharisees who, sacrificing everything to the passion of intolerance, are in a position to destroy the greatest interests of the Church and the nation. Narrow minds are not capable of entering into

the spirit of Christianity, and are the successors of those fanatics who strain to build a Chinese wall,* and to limit the teaching of Jesus within the walls of Jerusalem, reducing it to a simple ceremonial. Oh, how much good has been done to us by that letter of the Œcumenical Patriarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury! A few courteous words, full of Christian love, falling from the pen of that venerable man, have succeeded in lighting up all this flame of sympathy which now burns in England towards the Eastern Church, and which has been still more vivified by my presence. But are all the shepherds of the Greek Church like the Patriarch Gregorius? Do they all understand that Christianity has not been the better for the mutual antagonism of the Churches, but, on the contrary, has been injured thereby? and that it is time now to stretch forth our hands to each other in love, striving in the spirit of that love to smooth the differences that separate the Churches, and *all be of one mind in Jesus.* Do they understand that if the Eastern Church, to whom all eyes are turned, does not show the example of maternal love to those who stretch out their hands to her, she is acting contrary to her destined vocation, and only strengthens the Romish Church to attack her more threateningly in the future, and to become still more dangerous to the liberty of mind and conscience? Oh, believe me that nothing can profit so much to the Eastern Church, or do more to overthrow the centralizing despotic system of ecclesiastical Rome, than that we should become the centre of the so-much-desired union of the Churches! God has opened to us a path of glory; but let us see whether we shall be able to walk in it worthily. I offer you my best wishes, and in the hope of hearing from you before I leave this,

"I remain, your sincere well-wisher,

"✠ ALEXANDER, of Syros and Tenos."

* A wall without an opening.

Alexander Lycurgus was entertained with much kindness by the college authorities during his brief stay in Cambridge, and every facility was given him for visiting all places of interest there; but it is to be regretted that when he received his degree of D.C.L. in the Senate House he was not treated by the undergraduates with the courtesy which was his due, as a stranger and a distinguished ecclesiastic. He spoke of the circumstance afterwards to his friends in Oxford; but it was only that he might have an opportunity of contrasting with warm approbation the very different behaviour of the undergraduate body of Oxford, which he characterized as λαμπός, and which was indeed worthy both of their University and their visitor.

The Greek Archbishop arrived in Oxford at an early hour on the day when he was to have the degree of D.D. conferred upon him. The President of Magdalen College received him as his guest, along with the Archimandrite Stratulis, the Deacon Depastas, and the interpreter Tymbas; and immediately on their arrival a deputation of twenty Masters of the University waited upon Archbishop Lycurgus in the drawing-room of the President's house, to present him with his doctor's robes. They read to him at the same time an address in ancient Greek, which is worth recording as an expression of feeling on the part of many priests and deacons of Oxford who had signed it. After giving him "greeting in the Lord," they proceeded: "Your Grace's arrival in our city has caused us no ordinary satisfaction. The welcome which we offer you is not only that of persons interested in Greek literature to a Greek, but of Christians to a Christian, and a chief pastor of the Orthodox Church; for while we look upon you, we call to mind those bishops and patriarchs who a thousand years ago delivered the doctrine of Christ in the Greek language. Their writings are current among all Christians, and are commended and admired by all; but we who in these days lay claim to the name of Christians are divided

from each other—unhappily, God knows, and not without sin; yet not of our own will, through any preference for party spirit or dissension. Yet it is no work of man to restore the unity of the Church; it rather becomes us all to leave this in the hands of Almighty God, at the same time earnestly making our prayers that according to His good pleasure there may be again one fold and one Shepherd. In the meantime we remember the apostle's words, 'Nevertheless, whereunto we have attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing.' Therefore, my lord, we greet you with gratitude for your kind acceptance of our affectionate feelings; and we also entreat for you and all your clergy and laity, together with the whole Church of Greece, and all the Orthodox who are in union with the Patriarchate See of Constantinople, all peace and security in the service of Christ our God, and His richest mercy always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages." The Archbishop answered this address in Greek, speaking with much feeling of the pleasure it gave him to accept their appropriate gift, and reciprocate their brotherly sentiments.

He then proceeded almost immediately to the theatre, where the Vice-chancellor and many of the heads of houses awaited him, along with an assemblage of other persons, nearly as large and brilliant as that which is to be seen on a commemoration day. They received the Greek prelate with an enthusiastic welcome, and the degree of D.D. was then conferred upon him—a distinction which had not been bestowed on any Eastern bishop for a period of a hundred and seventy years, when a similar honour was paid to the Metropolitan of Philippopolis.

In the evening of this day the Archbishop dined with the Vice-chancellor, where by an odd coincidence another of the guests was a Turkish prince, the eldest son of the Khedive.

On the following morning the Archbishop was present at Holy Communion in Magdalen College Chapel, and the President, with true catholic liberality, offered him

the use of the chapel for his own worship, should he wish to celebrate the Holy Eucharist according to the rites of the Greek Church. He was unable to accept this brotherly offer, and indeed many requisites for the performance of the liturgy according to the oriental use could not have been procured in Oxford; but he fully appreciated the significance of the proposal, and the feelings which prompted it.

Archbishop Lycurgus heard the university sermon preached by the Bishop of Winchester, who was the Visitor of Magdalen College, and subsequently dined there with him at the President's; and he then went to visit Dr. Pusey, with whom he held a long conversation on the subject of the clause Filioque and other matters. He met at Christ Church, at the house of Canon Bright, with whom he lunched, several persons who were deeply interested in those subjects; as he did again in the evening at S. John's, where the President proposed his health in Greek.

Before leaving Oxford, the Archbishop received another gift which gave him especial pleasure. He had been greatly struck with the beautiful altarpiece in Magdalen College, and the undergraduates presented him with a splendid engraving of it, framed in admirable taste, which he carried back to his home in Greece as one of his most cherished souvenirs.

After he had been courteously conducted to see all that was most interesting in Oxford, he took his leave of the President and his family at Magdalen College, and started for Windsor, where the Queen had expressed a wish to see him. His own account of this episode, which had been quite unexpected by him, is given in the following letter to a friend in Athens:

"London, February 12th (O.S.), 1870.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—On the evening of Monday last a dinner was given to do me honour, at the College of S. Magdalen, where I resided while in Oxford. Several

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professors of the University, with other distinguished persons, were present; and the President of the college, who presided, made a speech in honour of the Eastern Church and their visitor. To this discourse I answered in Greek, expressing my gratitude for all the proofs of friendship I had received in that celebrated seat of learning, Oxford. I may also mention as interesting that the room given to me in the college was the same which had been occupied by King Charles I. when, giving way before the great opposition which had arisen in Parliament, he fled to Oxford. The day before yesterday, on leaving Oxford, I went to Windsor, where I visited the most famous royal palace of England, and of all Europe. Scarcely had I left the railway carriage when Mr. Williams, who accompanies me as delegate of the Archbishop of Canterbury, received a letter from the Dean, or chief clergyman of the Queen (a nephew of the illustrious Wellington), saying that her Majesty wished to see the Archbishop of Syros and Tenos. Immediately a royal carriage advanced, and we were conducted to this most splendid palace. . . . . At the door we were received by the Dean, who took me into a magnificent saloon, and then said that the Queen wished me to write my name on a paper laid before me. I took the pen and wrote first, out of the Psalms, "Lord, save the king, and hear us in the day when we shall call upon thee;" and then I wrote my signature,* which always produces surprise in the English. I was then asked to sign another sheet of paper for the princes, after which an aide-de-camp entered, and said that the Queen expected the Archbishop. I was immediately conducted to the reception-room, where the Queen, surrounded by three of her children, Louise, Beatrice, and Leopold, advanced a few steps to meet me, bending her head graciously. "I am glad," she said in German, "to make your acquaintance." After I had thanked her for the honour she had done

* A fac-simile of this signature is given on the title-page.

me, she asked me which towns of England I had seen; how I liked England; how many years I had been in Germany; how long I should remain in this country; whether I had seen the Chapel of S. George, in the palace; and other such questions, all of which I answered. She next presented to me her children, who saluted me gracefully, and then the Queen retired. The Dean, the aide-de-camp, and others, afterwards conducted me through the most splendid halls, whose beauty and magnificence I cannot attempt to describe. Everywhere the most costly and rare treasures are collected in the greatest abundance. After we had gone over the palace we were taken to a room where we were asked to sit down and rest. There coffee and other refreshments were brought, after partaking of which we were conducted to S. George's Chapel. There I was received at the door by several clergymen in their robes, who conducted me in procession to the seat where I was to hear the evening service, during which several psalms were chanted, and by a curious coincidence the very one containing the verse I had written for the Queen, which was considered a fortunate circumstance. At the end of the service I was accompanied out by the clergy, and after the people dispersed we returned to go over the chapel, which is very much celebrated, and enriched by many beautiful pictures and other sacred relics. From thence we proceeded to the railway, and travelled to this place (London), where we shall stay till Monday, the first day of Lent. After that I shall proceed to Liverpool, to give my blessing to our good countrymen there, who were the original cause of my visit to England; and after spending the Sunday with them, I hope I shall succeed in leaving England, and rest from the great fatigue I have been subjected to, being constantly in movement, and straining my strength to the utmost, in order to do honour as far as possible to my Church and my country. To-day I am to hear a discourse at a meeting of the Society of Friends of the Eastern

Church, having at their head the Earl of Glasgow. In the evening the same nobleman has invited us to a banquet. To-morrow I go to the country house of Mr. Beresford Hope. . . . . In Oxford I had a conversation with the celebrated Dr. Pusey, and other professors of theology, on the subjects of the differences which separate our Churches, and in what manner it would be possible to bring about the necessary amendments in view of the desired union. On arriving here I read some sheets of the *Neologos*" (Greek newspaper), "and I noticed that in the description of the consecration of the church at Liverpool the necessary accuracy has not been maintained, and even things are said which are quite ridiculous; for instance, that at the moment when I entered the church I said aloud, 'So let your light shine before men.' The reports written by Englishmen who do not understand our language are often quite incorrect. I have also observed many inaccuracies in my discourses given in the Greek papers. This is probably because they are not printed from the original, but from the English translation. I could indicate to you many such; but I am overcome by fatigue, and must close my letter, and give you my best wishes.

"✠ ALEXANDER, of Syros and Tenos."

Archbishop Lycurgus was at this time the guest of the Bishop of London, as the Archbishop of Canterbury was too unwell to receive him, and his host spoke afterwards with much pleasure of his visit, and especially of the willing manner in which he had joined in the ordinary prayers of the household. This was indeed the invariable practice of the Greek Prelate in all his visits to the "Christ-loving English," as he termed them. He always gladly took part in the devotions of any family with whom he might be staying.

The Archbishop had again on this occasion an opportunity of assisting at an episcopal consecration, that of the present Bishop of Oxford. He also attended the

service at Westminster Abbey, and was most cordially received by Dean Stanley, who had already excited Archbishop Lycurgus's surprise and admiration by the "beautiful Greek," as he expressed it, of the speech in which he welcomed him to a great banquet, where he met many notable persons. The vast Greek community in London occupied much of the Archbishop's time and attention during his brief residence in London. It was a source of great satisfaction to his countrymen to have one of their own bishops to celebrate the holy liturgy in their presence, and to preach to them, while there were various matters connected with their spiritual condition, and the discipline of the Church, into which the Archbishop found it requisite that he should enquire, and specially report to the Holy Synod. He was able, however, before leaving London, to spend a few hours with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was recovering from his illness, and thus described the visit afterwards: "The chief of the Anglican hierarchy . . . . received me with great emotion. He came forward wearing his archiepiscopal robes; and after having greeted and kissed me with brotherly affection, he led me into the chapel of his palace, where he performed a short service, after which he expressed his extreme pleasure that my presence in England had tended in a great degree to increase the warm love between the two Churches."

With another short visit to Liverpool, necessitated by various duties which Archbishop Lycurgus wished to perform on behalf of the Greeks resident there, his sojourn in this country came to a close. It is needless that we should speak at length of the impression made by the Archbishop of the Cyclades wherever he went in England, as it will be remembered by all who had the privilege of knowing him at that time. The hearty welcome which he received was due, no doubt, in the first instance, to the strong desire for re-union with the Eastern Church which had arisen in the minds of English churchmen, and would have induced them to

give a cordial reception to any member of the Greek hierarchy who might have come amongst them; but it was certainly the personal characteristics of Archbishop Lycurgus which changed this friendly feeling to one of strong enthusiasm, when so noble a representative of the ancient Orthodox Church became generally known amongst us. Much had been said in this country of the want of education in the Greek priesthood, and it was therefore with no small astonishment that the bishop, who had come in unostentatious simplicity to minister to his own countrymen in their foreign home, was found to be one of the most accomplished scholars and learned theologians of the day, possessed of the highest culture, and thoroughly conversant with the various scientific and social problems which are agitating the master-minds of our time. The dignified courtesy of his manner was very striking, while his deep reverential piety could not fail to impress all who came in contact with him. In his private intercourse with those who became his special friends, his quiet shrewdness and delicate sense of humour rendered him a charming companion. Nothing was however more remarkable in his outward bearing, than the calmness and simplicity with which he met the unexpected honours that were showered upon him. Having simply intended to travel quietly through England with his own attendants to see what he could of the country and the Church, he might well have been dazzled when, instead of being left to carry out this plan, he found himself courted as an honoured guest by many of the highest and noblest in the land. But while he did not fail to manifest a graceful appreciation of the kindness shown to him, he never varied from the unassuming gentleness which characterized his manner to all alike, whatever might be their position in society.

The impressions which the Archbishop himself derived from his sojourn in England were freely communicated by him to some of his countrymen whom he met on his

way home, and who afterwards repeated the opinions he then expressed. The subject of deepest interest to him was of course the knowledge he had acquired of the Church of England, from his attendance at her services, and from what he had been told respecting her by trustworthy persons; and the result in his own mind of all he had learnt was undoubtedly favourable to an extent that was a source of astonishment to himself. It is certain that he left England with far higher hopes as to the prospects of re-union than he entertained when he first arrived in this country. The report which he laid before the Holy Synod on his return to Greece sufficiently proves this, as the subjoined extracts will show. Speaking of the difference between the English Church and the other communions which had shaken off what he calls "the tyrannical rule of the Roman Pontiff," the Archbishop says, "She, after having rejected the Pope, not only maintained the episcopal system, but also the various traditions and customs of the ancient Catholic Church. In this manner this Church attached her bark by a strong cable to the ship of the Catholic Church; while the other Protestants, having cut this cable, drifted out to sea and wandered away. . . . . In the Anglican Church, on the other hand, there was gradually developed a feeling of reverence for religious ordinances, the depth and warmth of which are felt not only in the Church but also in public, as well as in social and family life . . . . Is it therefore to be wondered at that a nation which has firmly established its whole life on this reverential feeling . . . . has such a strong and invincible leaning towards the ancient source, the nurse and champion of the true faith in Christ, the mother of the Churches? I do not believe indeed that the union of the two Churches can be the work of the present day; besides, this union must not be closed mechanically but truly, and on full and complete persuasion. . . . . after a mutual and careful investigation and enquiry, a matter which will require no little time. For the present, in order

to prepare for this work of union, a friendly approximation of the two Churches in the spirit of mutual love, is both possible and desirable. . . . . I think that this most desirable Christian work, so abounding in true charity, can only be practically brought about between the two Churches in question, that is to say, the Orthodox Eastern and the Anglican. . . . . This fellowship of the two Churches will not only conduce to their preservation but will establish for the remainder of Christendom a common standard of fellowship and, God willing, of union. This approximation consists in the recognition by each Church of the other; . . . . and in the exhibition from time to time of proofs of mutual love by intercommunion between the bishops of both Churches, and by the grant of certain simple privileges to the members; as, for instance, his Holiness the Patriarch has given directions that Christians of the Anglican faith should be buried by our priests, in the absence of an Anglican priest; so may other similar privileges hereafter be given. Thus means might be found to grant permission that English children should be baptized by the priests of the Eastern Church, &c. . . . . Perhaps at the outset this great and God-loving work may appear to some difficult, if not impossible, owing to the differences which exist between the two Churches; but the more the scheme is ventilated the more the hope is increased that these differences will be smoothed away. I thought it necessary to submit all these matters to his Holiness the Œcumenical Patriarch. His Holiness was filled with joy at all that had taken place, and approved and blessed my conduct in England. . . . . In the same spirit I found not only the Holy Synod near his Holiness and all the clergy of the mother Church, but also the whole Orthodox Church, full of enthusiasm at what has been done, and looking forward with eager expectation and hope for an union, and all the addresses which have been made to me by the clergy and laity of the Orthodox cities through which I passed, such as at Varna, Con-

stantinople, Mytilene, Smyrna, &c., ... are full of the same spirit."

The whole of this address, of which an excellent English translation has now been published, is exceedingly interesting, and well worthy the attention of our readers.

Finally, in the month of March, the Archbishop of the Cyclades left our shores, with bright hopes for the future of our Church, and grateful recollections of the many kindnesses he had received while dwelling amongst us. The account of this departure must, however, be given in his own words, as he described it in the following letter, written to his sister from Paris:

"Paris, March 19th (O.S.), 1870.

"MY DEAR SISTER CLEOPATRA,—At last I have left England! We have quitted that glorious and most prosperous country, in which the Lord was pleased to pour forth abundantly His grace upon me, and we arrived here yesterday evening. Before leaving London I took care to write various letters of thanks to different important personages to whom I had special obligations. On Tuesday, when I was to start, after the visit of many friends, both English and Greek, I went to the house of Mr. Gladstone, and took leave of that celebrated prime minister with great emotion. He said to me, 'Since you now must go, my dear Archbishop, I wish you a happy journey, and I feel sure that you will not forget England.' I expressed to him my gratitude, and said that my love for England would remain vivid and ineffaceable for all my life. Thus we parted. On sailing from England I raised my arms to heaven, and blessed the land, praying from my heart that it may ever be covered by the all-powerful right hand of the Lord.

"I wish you well with all my heart, and am your loving brother,

"✠ ALEXANDER, of Syros and Tenos."

CHAPTER XII.

The Archbishop's Advice to the Patriarch of Constantinople respecting the Bulgarian Difficulty.

ARCHBISHOP LYCURGUS spent a short time in Paris on his way home, where the many resident Greeks received him with great enthusiasm, as his name was everywhere known and honoured by members of his own church. The minister who at that time represented the Hellenic government in France, Mons. Rangabè, was an old friend of the Archbishop's; and both he and his wife, an English lady, took a deep interest in his successful mission to England, and did their best, along with others of his countrymen, to render his stay in Paris both pleasant and useful to him. He might well have been tempted to linger there; but his anxious wish to return as soon as possible to the duties of his diocese decided him to cut short his visit, and start at once for the East. In spite of the fatigue caused by so much rapid travelling, which was already telling severely on his health, he determined to go to Constantinople before returning to Syros, in order to give an account of all that had transpired respecting the possible re-union of the Eastern and Anglican Churches, to the Œcumenical Patriarch. He had been earnestly requested to do this by many eminent churchmen, and he himself felt the more anxious to comply with their wish because he knew that the Patriarch Gregorius VI. had really been the first to give a hopeful impulse to the general desire of re-union, by the Encyclical which he had issued some time previously to the bishops dependent on the Œcumenical throne, commanding them to direct their clergy

to bury members of the English Church whenever none of their own priests should be available for the purpose.

The Patriarch was so much pleased with all that Archbishop Lycurgus told him of his visit to England, that he promised to write at once to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to express his thanks for the cordial reception which had been given to a hierarch of the Orthodox Eastern Church.

After a few days spent at Constantinople, Archbishop Lycurgus hastened on to Syros, where he established himself once more in the "Metropolitan House," as his home was called, and in which all the priests belonging to the cathedral habitually lived with him; there he resumed once more his ordinary labours, with the same assiduous attention to every detail that might benefit his people, which had characterized him before he had been brought into sympathy with interests of so much wider scope.

Two peaceful years passed over him in the exercise of his habitual functions, on which it is pleasant now to think; for they were the last he was destined to know unalloyed by trials of a nature very apt to overtake men in a public position, but from which he had been until that period more than usually exempt.

This quiet breathing-time, before the waves of this troublesome world rose around him more tempestuously than ever before, was brightened by the tenderness of those who were dearest to him on earth—his sister Cleopatra and his niece Irene, to whom he returned with an ardour of affection which had been heightened by the pain of separation. The ties which bound him to both were exceptionally close and strong. His only other near relative, his sister Diamantina, resided in Syros, and occasionally lived with him in the Metropolitan House; but she was fourteen years older than he was, and left her father's house for a home of her own while Alexander Lycurgus was still a child. Her chief interest in life at that time centred in her married daughters, with whom she made her habitual home,

rather than in her brother; but Cleopatra had been his friend and companion from childhood upwards, and her intense and passionate attachment to him, which none of her nearer ties had ever had power to lessen, drew forth a corresponding feeling on his part that was peculiarly warm and tender. He gave her a touching little proof of it on his return from England. He showed her a black scarf which she had given to him when he sailed for that northern land, as a protection against the rigours of its climate, and told her that he had made a point of wearing it for her sake wherever he went, and that when he was far away from her on the English shores he called it his "Cleopatra," that he might still have a link with her. But a few years later, when he was dying, he asked that this same scarf might be placed on his shoulders, so that he might expire with this proof of her affection close to his heart. Her daughter Irene—a very charming person—had been the object of his special love from her infancy. She was the living image of his beloved mother, whom he had mourned so deeply, and whose memory he cherished with the utmost tenderness; and was also her goddaughter, which in Greece constitutes a special tie, even where there is already a close relationship; so that she was to him a true "child of the soul," as the beautiful Greek term expresses it, while she on her part was absolutely devoted to her uncle, to whose comfort and happiness she did her utmost to minister during these latter years of his life. On one occasion he took her with him for a fortnight's visit to Tenos, where in his childhood he had resided for a time with his parents, and attended the elementary school; but this had occurred at so early an age that he had doubtless well-nigh forgotten the circumstance, and in the many previous visits which he had paid to the island in the discharge of his duties the fact had apparently never been referred to. Singularly enough, we believe at this time, when he was paying what proved to be his last visit to this interesting spot, several old people

came forward to ask him if he remembered that his chief amusement in those childish days had been to *preach* to his little schoolfellows, and to play at being a bishop, in which imaginary capacity he had been wont to give them spiritual instructions in a very grave manner. Alexander Lycurgus certainly seems to have been one of those men who are stamped with the seal of dedication to the priesthood from their earliest infancy.

The quiet interval of familiar and congenial work, which came thus as a lull before the storm, passed gently away in the home of the Greek Prelate, brightened by the care and love of her whose appropriate name was *peace*, Εἰρήνη; and then heavy clouds rolled up on the horizon that had been for him so serene and smiling—clouds that were destined to gather round him ever more and more, till they deepened into the final darkness of death.

The year 1872 brought into the life of Archbishop Lycurgus a bitterness which he keenly felt through all the days which remained to him on earth, inasmuch as he then for the first time experienced the censure of some of his countrymen, and of one whose good opinion he valued above that of any other in the world—the Patriarch Cyril of Jerusalem—for the line of conduct which he thought it right to pursue under the following circumstances.

A question of great intricacy and importance had for some time been in discussion between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Bulgarians, and had been gradually so much envenomed by secret intrigues and Panslavistic ideas, in opposition to Hellenism, that it had become absolutely necessary to put an end to the difficulty by some irrevocable decision. At this period, therefore, Archbishop Lycurgus, who had now received from all the Orthodox communions of the East the title of "Champion of the Church," was chosen as the representative of Greece to go to Constantinople, and give the Patriarch his valuable assistance and advice in bringing the matter to a peaceable termination. It was

by no means an easy task, as a brief explanation of the question in suspense will suffice to show; and it is now said (at the existing political crisis) that the intricacies of the great Turkish question have been much complicated by the subtle Russian influence which fomented the difficulties of that time; and one of the most prominent names of the day (General Ignatieff) is mentioned as that of a secret worker at Constantinople in the interests of the Czar on this especial subject.

The Orthodox Church in Bulgaria had always been under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, as was the case also with that Communion in every other Turkish province; but some years previous to 1872, the Bulgarians had complained to the Patriarch that they were suffering a hardship in having the offices of the Church administered by Greek clergy, whose language they did not understand, and that they wished to have Bulgarian priests, who would conduct the services in their own tongue. The Patriarch replied that he always sent them Bulgarian priests, when he could find any such capable of ministering to them, but that he could not do otherwise than appoint Greeks to localities where no Bulgarian clergy existed. An agitation was then raised—aggravated, no doubt, by intrigues altogether foreign to the real question—to induce influential persons in Bulgaria to demand that their Church should be placed under a separate local head, who, with the sanction of the Patriarch, should govern it entirely. The matter might at this juncture have been easily settled, as the Bulgarians, while asking for a reasonable amount of independence, had really not the least desire to separate themselves from the mother Church; but the question was hopelessly embittered by the party spirit raging at Constantinople, where the Greeks were always fighting against the bugbear of Russian ascendancy, and the Patriarch was induced by them to refuse his sanction to this proposal. The Bulgarians then elected an independent head, called the Exarchos of Bulgaria, and this appointment was re-

cognized by the Sultan. It was at this crisis that Archbishop Lycurgus was sent to Constantinople to assist at the council convened for the purpose of deciding on the future action of the Patriarchate with regard to Bulgaria; and to his influence it was attributed that the Patriarch finally declared the Bulgarian Church to be in schism, in which unhappy position it remains to the present day, at least in the estimation of the Eastern ecclesiastical authorities. Whether it is so *de facto* or not, is a question into which we cannot enter here.

This decision was considered most unfortunate by many members of the Orthodox Church, both in Greece and Syria, and is still deeply regretted by some; but it was in particular met with marked and vehement opposition by the Patriarch Cyril of Jerusalem, and this result was a source of the deepest pain to Archbishop Lycurgus. It was, of course, inevitable that his conduct in the matter should be strongly disapproved of by all whose judgment was against the decision of Gregorius VI.; and the disappointment felt at the course of action he had adopted was the more severe, as in his own diocese, whenever any question arose involving a struggle between Church and State, his policy had always been that of conciliation, recognizing fully the powers of the State in matters of administration, but allowing of no interference whatever in questions of doctrine. It is probable that his conduct at this important juncture was greatly due to the strong influence exercised upon him by the cherished memory of his father, who had spent his whole life in resisting the encroachments of foreign powers on the Orthodox church; but it is certain that, whether or not he committed an error in judgment, he acted from the highest and most conscientious motives; and of this he could have given no greater proof, than his patient submission to the cruel breach he knew it must make, between himself and the venerable man whose hand he had so often blessed, for the gift it had bestowed on him of the

sacred priesthood. The friendship uniting the two friends had for seven years been of the closest and most affectionate nature, which made this fatal interruption to it the more bitter to Alexander Lycurgus; but so strongly did the Patriarch Cyril believe a grievous error to have been committed, that he resigned in consequence the high office he held in the Greek Church, and retired to Russia, where at the present date he still lives, having unexpectedly survived the dear son in the faith, to whom at that time he caused so much pain.

Opinions are still greatly divided on this question. Some, like Cyril, strongly condemn the action of the Patriarch of Constantinople and his adviser Archbishop Lycurgus; while many, including the Metropolitan of Athens (since dead) and the Holy Synod, entirely approved of their decision. In England any persons who have looked into the matter for the most part hold that a great mistake was made, though there has been one notable exception to this view in Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, so well versed in the affairs of the East, who, at the time of Archbishop Lycurgus's departure from England, begged him to present his congratulations to Gregorius VI. for his firmness on this point, and to assure him that he held him to have rendered thereby still more illustrious that Œcumenical throne which had been celebrated by the Chrysostoms and Gregories of former times. In Greece proper, there is no doubt that public opinion was mainly favourable to Archbishop Lycurgus's line of conduct, as may be seen from the following remarks on the subject in a Greek document published after his death:

"The pretension of an autonomy by the Bulgarian Church rested neither on difference of dogma nor on an independent political existence. One of these two conditions had, however, always been considered indispensable for the establishment of a separate Church. For two races of the same confession of faith, comprised in the same political and geographical limits, a division

of ecclesiastical government would have been a dangerous innovation in the Church as well as in the State. Political influences, without any reason of right, in a time of peace, with no legitimate declaration of war, undertook to attack the sacred fortress of the Church, and to force the faithful to exchange the supreme good of unity and spiritual liberty for the disorder which follows political intrigues. Archbishop Lycurgus laboured to avert this danger with that prudence and firmness which form the strength of great characters. The Eastern Church generally watched with approbation the impulsion given to this critical question by the profound judgment of the Archbishop of Syros. If Pharmakides had been still alive, he would have thought himself happy to see the former pupil of Economos acting as the first champion of the honour and liberty of the Church and nation! Immovable in his convictions and in the accomplishment of his duty, he acquitted himself of his mission with a valiant perseverance, and with that inspired modesty which was one of the brightest virtues of his great character. He was most profoundly pained at finding himself in opposition openly declared with the aged Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had ordained him, and who acted as his godfather* when he was consecrated bishop; but his attachment to the Church and to his country imposed upon him the sacrifice, as great as it was indispensable, of separating himself from his spiritual father."

A letter which we have recently received from Athens endorses this opinion of Archbishop Lycurgus's conduct, as being that of the great majority in Greece at the present day. We are fortunately enabled, however, through the kindness of Mr. Gladstone, to place before our readers in the appendix, a series of letters written to him by Alexander Lycurgus, in which his own opinion on the Bulgarian difficulty is given with much detail.

* The Greek word *κούμπαρος*, which can only strictly be rendered as we have given it, implies in this relation the bishop who presents the candidate for consecration as his witness and spiritual father.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Archbishop's Attendance at the Bonn Conference.

ARCHBISHOP LYCURGUS returned to his diocese greatly pained and troubled by all that had occurred; and even the fact that the good and wise Theophilus, the Metropolitan of Athens at that time, and every member of the Holy Synod, thanked him warmly for what they held to be his noble championship of the Church, at Constantinople, could not heal the wound inflicted on his affectionate heart by the censure of the Patriarch Cyril. His deep depression of spirits was no doubt aggravated by a consciousness of failing health; but he did not allow either physical suffering or mental weariness to prevent him from plunging at once into the accumulated labours which his absence had caused in the ordinary work of his see. Within a very short time, however, he was seized with a severe pulmonary attack, ending in a long illness from which he never wholly recovered. He was ever afterwards well aware that he had symptoms of the fatal malady which ultimately terminated his existence, yet he never spared himself in the slightest degree, working often far beyond his strength, and ever studying the interests of others with utter indifference to his own. So soon as he was at all able to rise from his couch of pain, he resumed his position at stated hours in the room where he gave audience to all who sought his advice and help; and many remember now most sadly his gentle dignified figure, as he sat there, with dimmed eyes and pallid face, listening with all his wonted sympathy and careful attention, to every diffi-

culty that was brought before him by the crowds who passed direct from the street to his presence, through his ever-open door.

When extreme bodily weakness made it impossible for him to do as much out of doors as had been his custom, he made a great effort to be of use to his Church in a more sedentary occupation, by commencing the execution of an important work entitled *A History of Dogmas*, for which he had long prepared himself by an assiduous study of the writings of the Fathers. He denied himself the repose which his enfeebled frame constantly required, in order to carry on the great contribution which he thus hoped to make to the literature of theology. Those who were competent to judge of it affirm that the work would have been one of the highest value, had he lived to complete it; "but," to use the words of one of his countrymen, "the vision of death passed between his eyes and all earthly enterprises," and the book remained the one unfinished act of a very complete life.

In the summer of 1875 Archbishop Lycurgus was urgently entreated to assist at the Re-union Conference, to be held at Bonn, in the August of that year, by many who were deeply interested in the purpose of the meeting. His strong sympathy with the objects of the assembly, and the hopes for the future unity of Christendom, with which he had been inspired during his visit to England, five years before, all prompted him to accept the invitation; but his health was in so precarious a state that he felt unequal to the journey, and had almost decided, though reluctantly, not to attempt it, when he received a letter from Mr. Gladstone, so strongly urging him to give the weight of his influence to the important issues at stake, that he rallied his failing powers to make the effort, as a last sacrifice in the cause of his Master, the Prince of Peace. It must have been a satisfaction to him to find at this juncture, that if the confidence of his countrymen in his wisdom had been in any degree shaken at the time of the Bulgarian difficulty, all recollection of

the fact had apparently completely vanished from their minds; and there was a universal expression of pleasure when it was found that Archbishop Lycurgus had agreed to represent the Orthodox Church at the important Conference of Bonn, while there was much quaint simplicity in the view taken by the majority of them as to the nature of his mission. "He goes," they said, "to tell that great assembly that we are the only real old Catholics, and none but ourselves have any right to that name; we who have been Catholic and Orthodox from the very beginning, and who have never admitted one hair's-breadth of change, under any unauthorized names of development or reform."

The Holy Synod gave a willing consent to the Archbishop's journey, and also agreed to his own request that he should be accompanied by one of his especial friends, M. Rosés, and by the university Professor of Theology, M. Damalas. He had from the first felt the more desirous to nerve himself for an effort, which was painfully great in his weak state, because he knew that the question which would chiefly occupy the attention of the assembly was that of the Filioque, concerning which he had held so many anxious conferences in England, and which in his opinion was the only real and grave obstacle to intercommunion between the Orthodox and English Churches. Meanwhile, when it became known at Bonn that the Archbishop of the Cyclades was to be present, all the Orthodox clergy assembled there—Russians, Greeks, Servians, and Slavonians of Austria—unanimously agreed to elect him their president.

The journey tried him severely, and he was in a very exhausted state, scarcely able to speak above a whisper, when he arrived at Bonn. He was, however, quite able to enjoy, with the enthusiasm natural to his character, the pleasure of seeing again several of those who had become his true friends during his residence in England. Mr. Meyrick was especially greeted by him with the greatest warmth. The Bishop of Gibraltar,

who happened to be first on the spot, went at once on the arrival of Archbishop Lycurgus, to pay him the customary visit of ceremony, accompanied by the Rev. W. T. Bullock, and the Rev. F. Meyrick; and the Archbishop, always alive to the duties of courtesy, returned the visit the same day, in spite of his fatigue, bringing with him both M. Rosés and M. Damalas. He had interviews at once with some of the Orientals, but his first public appearance was at the fifth Conference, on August 13th. It was on that day decided to appoint a committee, consisting of a few persons chosen from each of the three parties—Orientals, Anglicans, and Germans—who were to undertake the duty of formulating propositions expressing the common convictions of the whole assembly. Archbishop Lycurgus was named to serve on this committee, of which the first meeting was held on the following day, and he never failed to be present at all their deliberations.

It is unnecessary that we should repeat in our pages the history of the six days' Reunion Conference, which has already been so well told in Professor Reusch's report, edited by Dr. Liddon. That account leaves nothing to be desired in its fulness of detail, and is no doubt in the hands of most of our readers. The only words which it records as having been publicly spoken by Archbishop Lycurgus, are given in the following sentence, prefaced by the touching remark that his voice was so weak he could only be heard by those who were close to him, and therefore Bishop Reinkens repeated what he said to the meeting.

"In the name of all those of my own communion, I thank you, Mr. President, for your marvellous efforts in the work of reuniting the severed Churches—of bringing together again the so-numerous divisions of the Rock of our Redeemer. Our joy is full, and there will be great joy in our homes also. We earnestly pray God for His further blessing."

The "joy" of which the Archbishop spoke was caused

by that important agreement on six articles of faith which was so happily accomplished by the Conference, and those who were present throughout the proceedings can best tell how far the Greek prelate was himself instrumental in this remarkable result. In Greece, however, in those homes which he said were to be made joyful thereby, it is generally believed that it was his influence which procured the agreement of the Westerns to the *second* article, and that of the Orientals to the *third*. The following are the articles in question:

2. The Holy Ghost does not issue out of the Son (ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ), because in the Godhead there is but one Beginning (ἀρχή), one Cause (αἰτία), through which all that is in the Godhead is produced. *De Fide Orthod.* i. 8: ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν, πνεῦμα δὲ υἱοῦ ὀνομάζομεν.

3. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father through the Son. *De Fide Orthod.* i. 12: τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκφαντορικὴ τοῦ κρυφίου τῆς θεότητος δύναμις τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν δι' υἱοῦ ἐκπορευομένη. *Ibidem:* υἱοῦ δὲ πνεῦμα οὐκ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον. *Manich*, n. 5: διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον. *De Hymn Tris. Ag.* n. 28: πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ λόγου προϊόν. A subsequent addition was made by the Orientals to enable them to accept this article, as follows: *Hom. in Sabb.* s. n. 4: τοῦτ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ λατρευόμενον . . . . πνεῦμα ἅγιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον ὅπερ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγεται ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ φανερούμενον καὶ τῇ κτίσει μεταδιδόμενον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχον τὴν ὕπαρξιν.

From more than one person, both among his own countrymen and others, we have testimony to the absolute self-abnegation with which Archbishop Lycurgus threw himself into the labours of these great six days, in spite of the weakness and suffering entailed upon him by his fatal malady. Mr. Meyrick, writing on this subject, says:

"Throughout the Bonn Conference the Archbishop never spared himself, though death was evidently stamped on his forehead. He was present at all the Conferences, and all the committee meetings, and even at the last friendly farewell gathering, where he sat next the Bishop of Gibraltar. Throughout he was gracious, tolerant, friendly, and affectionate, holding with a firm grasp to what he believed to be revealed truth, but ready to stretch out the hand both to Old Catholics and to English Churchmen, and treating them thus, evidently because he regarded them as brethren in the faith, members with him of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ."

An account given by one of the Orientals who was present at Bonn, and which we subjoin, is especially interesting, not only for the picture it gives of Archbishop Lycurgus in that his last public appearance, but also for the insight it affords into the view taken of the whole subject in the East:

"We shall ever recollect," this record says, "the magnificent impression produced on all the distinguished men assembled at Bonn from all parts of Europe by the noble appearance, the dignified bearing, and the sympathetic sweetness of Archbishop Lycurgus, as well as by the extent of his theological learning, and by the greatness of his Christian virtues. . . . . Before his wisdom and his sanctity all prejudices of race or of politics which might have existed in the past were dissipated, and the Orthodox Church of Greece was enabled to see her beloved son representing and utilizing the Hellenic spirit in the highest interests of Christian civilization. The Orthodox, unanimously recognized the power of his agency in this respect, while members of other communions hastened to inscribe in the records of European civilization this peaceable triumph of the great Eastern Church. Also, it was with justice that this honour was accorded to him, and by him to his country and his Church; for none was more competent than himself to

fix, by his vast erudition and profound critical facility, the sense of the expressions used by the Fathers on the subject of dogmas. Nor could any one like him have convinced that assembly, at once by his words and the guarantee of his personal character, that the Eastern Church, while relaxing nothing in her possession of fundamental doctrines, does not nevertheless desire a theoretic and sterile victory, but is able to appreciate the necessity of preventing the clear stream of the faith, which has its source in the sacred Scriptures and the holy councils, from being troubled by the wide current of human inventions, with which error and private interests have often sought to flood the pastures of the Church of Christ. The leaders of the Old Catholics understood by the explanations of Archbishop Lycurgus the sincerity of the Oriental Church, and how much reason she has to insist on the truth of her dogma of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. They understood that the recognition of this point is indispensable for the reunion of the Churches, which in the main can rest on no other foundation than the acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as the sole Head of all the Christians upon earth, who have received the baptism of His religion. One Church only has departed from this principle—the Church of Rome—which brings in the Pope as the visible head of the Church, the lieutenant of the Saviour upon earth, the partaker and depositary of His authority. She has arrived at this audacious result by altering gradually the ancient dogmas of Christianity, till, overpassing all limits of reason or credulity, she has dared to extend her impious hand even to the Majesty of the Most High, claiming for herself the possession of infallibility and supreme truth, in order to prop up her crumbling throne. When Archbishop Lycurgus spoke all listened in silence, charmed with the grace of his words, although his voice was weakened by his malady. . . . . Mutual explanations had the happy result of enabling the

leaders of the Conference to come to an agreement on several points. This agreement leads us to hope that the spirit of peace and love may by degrees develop this work of approximation into the complete union of all the Churches of Christ."

It may be taken as a proof that we have gone a considerable way towards this blessed consummation, when such words as we have quoted above have been used by a member of the unchangeable Greek Church.

The final result of the Bonn Conference of 1875 on the subject of the Filioque is summed up in the following resolutions:

1. We agree in receiving the Œcumenical Creeds and dogmatic decisions of the ancient undivided Church.

2. We agree in acknowledging that the addition of the Filioque to the Creed, did not take place in an ecclesiastically regular manner.

3. We acknowledge on all sides the representation of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as it is set forth by the Fathers of the undivided Church.

4. We reject every proposition and every method of expression in which in any way the acknowledgment of two principles or ἀρχαὶ, or αἰτίαι in the Trinity, may be contained.

We accept the teaching of S. John Damascene on the Holy Ghost, as it is expressed in the following paragraphs in the sense of the teaching of the ancient undivided Church:

1. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father as the beginning (ἀρχὴ), the cause (αἰτία), the source (πηγὴ), of the Godhead.

2. The Holy Ghost does not issue out of the Son (ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ), because there is in the Godhead but one beginning (ἀρχὴ), one cause (αἰτία), through which all that is in the Godhead is produced.

3. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father through the Son.

4. The Holy Ghost is the image of the Son, who is

the image of the Father, issuing out of the Father and resting in the Son as his revealing power.

5. The Holy Ghost is the personal production out of the Father belonging to the Son, but not out of the Son, because He is the Spirit of the mouth of God declarative of the word.

6. The Holy Ghost forms the link between the Father and the Son, and is linked to the Father by the Son.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Archbishop's Last Illness and Death.

WITH this last effort for the peace of Christ's Church on earth, Archbishop Lycurgus's life of labour virtually terminated. Henceforth we have but to trace his steps down the valley of the shadow of death, through which he passed swiftly onward, to the repose of the just. On first leaving Bonn he imagined that there was some amelioration in his health, deceived by one of those fluctuations so common to his fatal disease, and in part perhaps inspired with hopes of the success of a new doctor's treatment whom he consulted at Vienna. He had probably benefited too in some degree by the tender and assiduous care which M. Damalas, the Professor of Divinity, lavished upon him, as he had conceived the deepest affection for the Archbishop during their journey together, which had given him an opportunity of much more intimate acquaintance with him than he had ever had before. Thus Archbishop Lycurgus's first letter to his dear niece Irene, after the termination of the Conference, was calculated to raise in her mind bright anticipations of his recovery, that were never destined to be realized. Some time previously, before his malady had declared itself, there had been a false report of his death, which had induced him to tell Irene, who was no doubt troubled by what she considered a sinister omen, that he had an impression he should yet live thirteen years. It will be seen that he alludes to this in his letter; but had he

spoken of still surviving thirteen weeks, he would have more nearly approached the term that was really to be left to him on earth.

"Gleichenberg, August 21st, 1875.

"DEAREST IRENE,—M. Jogas wrote to you all I intended to say, therefore I write only a few words to express above everything my great satisfaction at the tenderness and love which you show to me. Do not despair about my health, because if I can say nothing more, at least I feel now that I have more strength than when I left Athens; and if I do not return quite well, I shall return comparatively in a better state, and I doubt not that my presentiment about the thirteen years will be accomplished. If you possess me for thirteen more years, you will certainly be much more pleased than if you had lost me when my death was falsely announced! Tell M. Lembute with my blessing, that if what he said about illness was his *complete* medical opinion, I congratulate him with all my heart, because he is the only physician of those who examined me who agrees with Dr. Scoda." After having entered into full details as to his symptoms, and spoken especially of his difficulty of breathing, the Archbishop goes on to say, "What tries me most is the fever which visits me every afternoon. According to the doctors it is chiefly symptomatic, and caused by irritation of the nerves, so that I believe, with the remedies which Scoda has ordered, that will also be arrested which has been the principal cause of the failing of my forces. I execute the orders of Scoda exactly, because in him I have, of course, the greatest faith. Here I cannot remain more than two weeks, since it is necessary that I should return to Vienna, in order to receive the doctor's last instructions. You will see all about the Congress of Bonn *in extenso* in the *Clio* (Greek newspaper), and therefore I have written nothing about it to you. I only tell you that again we have, by the grace of the Lord, come

away clear-faced, notwithstanding the wretched state of my health.

"I bless you all, and remain your Uncle,

"✠ ALEXANDER."

At Graz, where the Archbishop rested for a time on his way to Greece, he was recommended to try yet another physician, the treatment of M. Scoda having ceased to act with any good effect. This new doctor succeeded in reviving his spirits, and to some extent his strength, though, in spite of the hopeful words with which he reassured his patient, he must have been well aware that the appearance of improvement was quite fallacious. Under his influence, however, the Archbishop wrote his last letter to Irene very cheerfully.

"Graz, the 18th of September, 1875.

"DEAREST IRENE,—I did not so much admire the swiftness of the steamer which brought to you Jogas's letter, as I admired the rapidity with which you succeeded in accomplishing the transmission of the money, and in telegraphing to me so immediately. I thank you, my Irene, with all my heart; and I bless you as a father, wishing to you and to your mother everything you may desire. Your anxiety about me is my best repose during my cure in this foreign country. I do not write more to you, because the fever produced by the medicine has not left me yet, although I have ceased taking it for more than three hours, in order to take some food. I only tell you that Providence, whose hand I often see clearly acting upon me, has presented to me unexpectedly a most experienced doctor, in order that I might regain whatever I had lost through the ignorance of the other doctors, and which could not be completely given back to me by the antispasmodic medicines of Scoda. He visits me twice a day, and each time he examines my chest with great attention. After to-day's examination he exclaimed, 'Wonderful! I congratulate you. I did

not expect in eight days to find such a change; but for the love of God, give me a little more time that the cure may finish more completely under my eyes.' I still remain here through the whole of next week, and if I see the necessity, through one more. 'Be strong in the Lord, and be happy.'

"Your uncle the Archbishop,

"✠ ALEXANDER."

Be strong in the Lord, and be happy. These were the appropriate words with which, little as he guessed it at the time, Archbishop Lycurgus closed for ever his correspondence with this cherished niece; and Irene guards the letter which contains them as one of her dearest treasures, for they were the last ever traced for her by the hand of her much-loved uncle.

The Archbishop remained a short time longer at Graz, and then returned to his native land, from which he was to wander no more, even in the service of his Master, for Whom his work on earth was ended. Yet he did not even then, weak and ill as he was, intend to give up the performance of such duties as might be possible to his greatly reduced strength, and purposed going at once to his usual residence in the centre of his diocese, the Metropolitan House at Syros. He landed first in Athens, however, in order to take a few days rest and enjoy the consolation of seeing once more his dear Irene and her mother. There his strength failed so rapidly that he became quite unable to undertake even the short voyage to his island home. The last few weeks of his existence were therefore passed in the house of his sister Cleopatra (Madame Marillon), in the heart of the bright city which he loved so well, and where all the happiest years of his early life had been spent. It was well for Archbishop Lycurgus no doubt that he was thus detained in Athens, contrary to his intention; for it secured to him the devoted care and attention of his beloved sister and her daughter, during the sad time of pain and

weakness which followed. They both watched over him with unremitting tenderness, and anticipated being able to do so for a much longer period than was really granted to them. They soon learnt, as the Archbishop himself did also, that his malady must eventually prove fatal; but for some time there was no indication of the near approach of his death, which was indeed at the last startlingly sudden. So little in fact was the speedy termination expected which actually took place, that his sister Diamantina did not come from Syros to see him, hoping no doubt that he would again be able to meet her there, and thus unhappily missing the opportunity of bidding him a last farewell.

Archbishop Lycurgus was calm and cheerful throughout his illness, and he carefully used every means offered by his Church, or prompted by his own devout mind, to prepare for death. In his sister's house he could not have any of his priests living with him, as was his custom when lodging in rooms of his own in Athens; but he arranged that the protosyncellus should come every morning to read prayers with him. On Thursday, the 16th of October (O.S.), he was not more ill than he had been for some time previously, and on that day he received a letter from Mr. Gladstone, which gave him very great pleasure. He read it over three times, and spoke with much satisfaction of having the papers on the Bonn Conference, which accompanied it, translated to him. It was the last gleam of brightness any earthly joy was to afford him; for the evening of Friday, the 17th (O.S.), saw the final close of his mortal life.

The record of his last hour has come to us in some detail, and it gives us indeed a beautiful picture of Christian death. We can readily imagine the scene. It was still summer in that southern clime, and the sun had set on an evening bright and serene, as the days ever are in Greece at that season. The open window showed a sky of cloudless blue, and on Mount Hymettus the lovely after-glow still lingered which bathes it in the wonderful

hues of rose and violet recorded by the old Greek poet. The Archbishop was lying calmly on his couch, in full possession of all his faculties, and with his mind perfectly clear and composed. Round his shoulders was the black scarf which he had carried with him wherever he went in England for his sister's sake, and which in the tenderness of his love for her he would have specially wished to wear when dying. Cleopatra sat by his side, and he was conversing with her cheerfully, while Irene, who never left her cherished uncle for a moment longer than she could help, was engaged in some occupation of her own in another part of the room. All was peaceful around them, and even hopeful; for the Archbishop's spirits had been revived by the letter from his English friend. The calm brightness of the external nature was reflected in that quiet chamber, where already the angel of death was hovering unseen. At a pause in the conversation the Archbishop asked his sister to give him a little of the soup which was his chief nourishment. She rose at once, and went towards a table at the other end of the room in order to get it. As she stood with her face turned from him, engaged in filling the cup she held in her hand, she suddenly heard her brother say softly, τετέλεσται (*It is finished*). The words seemed to smite on her heart with a pang of terror. Instantly she returned to his side; but in that one brief moment the great change had been accomplished. Alexander Lycurgus had passed away from this mortal life without a sigh, and without the slightest indication of struggle or pain. His sister, as she bent over the calm countenance, could scarcely believe that he no longer breathed. Unable to speak in her agitation, she turned a look of anguish and appeal on Irene, who started to her feet, terrified at her mother's expression. She sprang to her uncle's side, and she too could not credit that a single instant should have wrought a calamity to her so immeasurably great. Together they used every effort to restore him for some time. It was in vain. He who

had so laboured for the unity of the Church on earth, had gone where we may well hope that the true "Vision of Peace" will surely gladden his longing eyes for evermore.

By nine o'clock that evening, the wail of lamentation which rose from the bereaved house as the Greek dependents crowded into the death-chamber, and gave vent to their feelings, as is their wont, in loud cries of grief, announced to all within hearing that a great light had been extinguished in the Church of God on earth.

The tidings of the Archbishop's death caused universal mourning in Athens, and still deeper sorrow throughout his extensive diocese. "The blank left by Alexander Lycurgus in the Church," said one of his countrymen, writing of him shortly after his departure, "will indeed be hard to fill. The world will recognize this sooner or later; in truth, his gentleness of soul, his forgetfulness of injuries, his disinterestedness, his humanity, his charity, were virtues which distinguished him not less than his great learning. He preserved intact the sacred deposit of the faith confided to him by his Saviour; he laboured unceasingly for the Church; he manifested his love for her by his deeds and by his words. Well may he say with the apostle, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness.'"

In England the sense of the loss sustained by the universal Church was deeply felt, and touchingly expressed by Mr. Gladstone, in the following letter to the Rector of the University at Athens.

"Hawarden Castle, November 1st, 1875.

"MR. RECTOR,*—I have received with the deepest regret the sad news of the death of the Archbishop of Syros; and yet all my personal feelings for the dis-

* The above letter has twice passed through the process of translation.

tinguished prelate, all my recollections and individual impressions, are almost obliterated by the sentiment of a loss difficult to measure, not only to the Hellenic race and Church, but to the whole of Christendom. I received on Saturday last the telegram which you had the extreme kindness to send me; but by accident the indication from whence it came had been omitted in the copy, so that it is only to-day that I can thank you for sending it, and express to you how much with my whole heart and soul I share your feelings. As to the departed, he has surely gone to the rest of the just, to his home in Paradise. *Requiescat in pace!* I believe that the fatigues of his journey, and his labours at the Synod of Bonn, exhausted his already feeble strength. But how glorious is such a death! How illustrious the martyr to peace and love! May the Almighty raise up among your fellow-countrymen, and elsewhere, successors truly apostolic, to the sacred cause and work of the departed. I believe that in Greece his memory will not fail to be perpetuated in some national and popular form, and in that case I shall beg also to be allowed to take my part therein. No one better than myself will keep in remembrance his great character, his distinguished intelligence, and the valued friendship with which he honoured me.

"I remain, Mr. Rector, with the assurance of my great consideration, your obedient, humble servant,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

Although the Archbishop had died in Athens, the people of his own diocese so urgently entreated that their beloved father might be laid in their midst that the government consented to allow the interment to take place at Syros. The ceremonial which up to that time had always been used at the burial of a Greek bishop is of a very peculiar description. The body was clothed in the gorgeous robes worn at the highest functions of the church, and placed seated in a chair of state, the long

black veil falling over the shoulders, but leaving the face exposed. The book of the Gospels was laid open upon his knees, and the left hand rested upon the page, pointing, we believe, to the words, "I am the resurrection and the life;" while the right was uplifted in the act of giving the blessing. The chair was then placed on the shoulders of eight of the minor clergy, and thus borne to the place of burial, preceded by priests carrying sacred symbols, and chanting funeral hymns. The people were wont to throng upon the way by which it passed, all making the sign of the cross, and bowing down reverently to receive a last benediction from the lifeless hand. It might naturally be supposed by those who have never seen this singular spectacle that it must have been extremely repulsive; but, as a matter of fact, it was not so, and was, on the contrary, a strangely solemn and impressive scene. Alexander Lycurgus, however, when he felt that life was failing him, shrank, in his humility and refinement of spirit, from a mode of burial which seemed to carry earthly pomp and state into the shades of death. He made a special request that this ceremonial, to which his ecclesiastical dignity entitled him, might for him be omitted, and his funeral conducted like that of an ordinary Christian. Not only was his petition granted by the Holy Synod, but it had a result he could little have anticipated. The fact that one so wise and good as Archbishop Lycurgus had objected to this strange custom, caused the matter to be taken into consideration by the authorities, and they have quite recently published a new edict respecting it, of which we give a translation:

"This ceremonial is founded on no example in the history of the ancient Church, our Lord and Saviour and Chief Bishop having Himself been buried, as the Holy Gospels bear witness, by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, wrapped in a simple white sheet. Therefore it is ordained that the body of a bishop shall be carried, like all other Christians, lying in a coffin, wearing

the dress of ordinary days, with the addition, out of respect to his high office, of the ἐπανοκάλυμμαχον (black veil), the ἐπιτραχήλιον (stole), and small ὠμοφόριὸν (worn over the shoulders) on his breast, the Holy Gospel held by his left hand, and his right hand raised in blessing. Priests, whether married or unmarried, are to be carried in the same way, dressed in their usual clothes, with the ἐπιτραχήλιον and the Gospel on the breast; deacons in the same manner, having only as distinctive sign the ὡράριον (orarion—which they bind round their breast before saying the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy), and on their breast an image of the Saviour. The face of all the clergy, when buried, must be covered with the holy covering; that is, the ἄερος (chalice veil)."

This order was not published till long after the Archbishop's death; but his own wish caused it in his case to be anticipated. He was placed lying down in a simple coffin, of which the lid was carried before him. The funeral procession from Athens to the Piræus was accompanied by the whole of the metropolitan clergy, and by all persons of distinction among the laity; while countless numbers of the people followed through the entire length of the route, in order to pay their last tribute of respect to him who was passing to his well-earned rest, from the city where his studious and blameless youth had given such fair promise of the noble career that now shed honour on his name. Bathed in the bright sunshine of that cloudless October day, the long train wound its way to the sea; while the wailing dirge chanted by the priests, mingled with the soft breeze that sighed through the olive groves shadowing the plain. At the Piræus a war steamer was ready to receive the body, which was placed on board, in charge of delegates from the Holy Synod, and from Syros. Crowds were assembled on the shores of that island when the vessel arrived which brought back to them the tender father, whose voice, now for ever silent, had so often spoken to them of life beyond the grave; and as he was borne

through the streets of Hermopolis to the Church of S. George, where the last rites were to be performed, the impulsive people wept and lamented, and struggled to obtain a footing near him, if only for a moment, that they might for the last time kiss the hand that had so often blessed them. When the holy office within the Church was over, the coffin was borne out to the burial-place attached to it, and there, in the midst of a vast concourse of people, the funeral oration was pronounced over the grave by the Archimandrite Methodius Papanastasopulos, director of the Episcopal School in Syros, a man well fitted for that sad duty by the love which bound him to his father in the faith. He thus in his closing sentence took leave of him whom our great countryman has so justly termed "a martyr to peace and love:"

"And now, my brothers, we have brought our father to his tomb. Let us give him the supreme embrace; let us bathe his hands with our tears; and let us pray from the depth of our hearts that, although he has left us orphans in this world, he may not cease to remember and to love us in eternity. Yes, oh sacred soul of our Archbishop, in ascending into Paradise, forget not thy flock which was so dear to thee! In presence of the throne of the Most High, pray with thy predecessors, Anthemious and Daniel, for their well-being, for the glory of the Church and for the greatness of thy country. May thy memory be eternal, oh, our father Alexander!"

The people warmly responded to this farewell wish, and then all who were permitted to do so drew near to the familiar form which was about to be hid from their eyes, in order to give him the τελευταῖος ἀσπασμός (the last kiss), with which in Greece it is the custom that human affection should set its seal upon the final separation from its dead.

Alexander Lycurgus lies at rest beneath the deep blue sky of his native land, in the burial-place of S. George, at Syros, where the sunshine can fall unobstructed on

his honoured grave; and never will the office of his commemoration be omitted in the Church where he ministered so long, nor his name cease to live with a potent influence for good in the hearts of his grateful people. Shall not the memory be cherished also in other Christian lands, of the noble Eastern bishop, who gave his life in the cause of that unity for which our one Lord prayed before He suffered in the Great Intercession, "*Ἵνα πάντες ἕν ὦσιν*"?

APPENDIX I.

LETTERS FROM ARCHBISHOP LYCURGUS TO THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

I.

MOST EXCELLENT AND ADMIRABLE SIR,—Pardon me if I am late in replying to your very kind letter, which is owing, not to any want of will on my part (far from it!), but to want of time on account of my journey to Liverpool, and owing to much business after my return thither. Pardon me too for being late in returning due thanks for your having sent me photographs of your Excellency and your noble and deeply-respected consort. I regard them as a peculiarly dear and valuable present, as they will always remind me of the honoured husband and wife who first offered me hospitality and true friendship after my arrival in this thrice-blessed and hospitable land. Being about to leave your glorious country on March 24, a country which for many other reasons, and specially on account of the friendly reception which it has given to me, and for its love and sympathy for the Orthodox Church, I shall never forget

εἰσόκ' ἀΰτμὴ
ἐν στήθεσσι μένῃ καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ,

I ask, as a last favour before returning home, to be allowed to see and salute your Excellency. I know very well that time is precious to one ᾧ τόσσα μέμηλεν, but, encouraged by your kindness and friendliness, I beg this favour, and trust that I shall obtain my request. I will come to you whenever it may be convenient to your Excellency.

So much for that. I am going straight, if it please God, to

Constantinople, bearing to the Holy Œcumenical Patriarch, and to all the most reverend prelates there, the good news of what I have here seen and heard; and I have warm hopes that my news will bring joy to all, and that the bond of union between the Churches will thenceforward be firmer. For the present days are altogether evil: both materialism and the worldly pride of man, which has done so much injury to the Church of Christ, are warring without restraint against the true faith—the first, disregarding everything divine and human, and hurrying on to destruction like a winter torrent, and the second, impiously claiming for itself what may not be touched by men, and in fact desiring to make the house of God nothing but a house of merchandise. The unity and concord of true believers in Christ, who hold His teaching as the basis and guide in everything, will be a great and insuperable obstacle in the way of the bold efforts of these men; and if there be any distinction and difference between these believers, it will not be difficult, as it seems to me, to investigate it in the spirit of meekness and love, by the help and support of Him whom we trust when He said, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." Seeing and feeling all this, honoured and admirable friend, I will not fail, so far as my power goes, in co-operating in sincerity and heartiness for the reconciliation and union of the Churches—the Anglican, I mean, and the Orthodox Eastern Church—with those who are well disposed, and who take counsel and act in a Christ-like manner. And may the God of peace, who hath made both one, and hath taken away the middle wall of partition, be Himself our helper and assistant in our endeavour to fulfil His divine command in the bond of love, for the glory of His most holy and adored name!

Saluting your Excellency from the bottom of my heart, and praying for an abundant and unstinted blessing from on high on your happy home,

I remain, with the assurance of my warm prayers to God for you, your faithful friend,

ALEXANDER,
Archbishop of Syros and Tenos.

LONDON, 11, LEINSTER GARDENS,
March $\frac{13}{25}$, 1870.

To his Excellency Mr. William Gladstone.

II.

EXCELLENCY,—A few days ago, our friend Mr. Freshfield passed our island, and he brought to me kind messages from England, and particularly from your Excellency. This has given me great pleasure, for it proves to me that you remember me kindly. With regard to myself I can only say, that the country where I have been received so well, and where on all sides so much sincere love has been shown to me, is remembered with heartfelt gratitude. But above all I remember your great kindness, and your image has remained graven on my heart. As a small mark of my gratitude I have sent to you some months ago a few trifles, and I hope that you have received them. I intended to accompany them by a letter, and to ask you not to look at the smallness of the objects, but at the heart of the giver, and to take into consideration the places from whence they come. But this I was prevented from doing by another attack of bronchitis; and after that was over by my journey to Athens, which I undertook at the request of the Greek Government, who desired me to make a suitable speech on the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Greek insurrection, as well as on the arrival of the relics of the martyred Patriarch Gregorius V. I enclose a copy of the speech.

All the pictures on stones, as well as those on oyster-shells, the rosaries and rings, and the picture of the Holy Sepulchre, which I then sent to you, have been made in the Holy Land. Here I must mention that the stones, on which are engraved different events from the history of our Lord, have been taken from the identical places where these events happened. For example: the stone with the Birth of our Lord comes from Bethlehem; the one with the Baptism, from the Jordan; the one with the Ascension, from the Mount of Olives, &c. There can be no doubt that the stones are genuine, as at my request the Patriarch of Jerusalem got them himself for me. The honey is from Hymettus. The other sweets, which are commonly called *Lukumia*, are a product of Syros: I hope you will permit me to send you now and then some of them. I also trust that you will allow me to send you later a few pieces of marble for your writing-table, from Tenos and Delos.

Mr. Freshfield has informed me that your Excellency, and other gentlemen in England, would like to know *if* and *how far* the Eastern Church takes an interest in the great religious movement in Germany. I replied, that we take indeed a great interest in it, and that it is our great wish that this movement may prove a benefit to the Church. But we cannot take part in it without a special invitation from the leaders of the movement. We doubt not that under good and wise leaders the matter will produce beneficent results. Our view of it is, that the road to be taken must not only be guarded from all error, but it must also lead to results which would receive the most general and extensive sanction of the Church. To attain this, the Church of the first eight centuries must above all be kept in view; I mean that Church which existed before the schism, for this undivided Church was alone the true catholic one. Those national Churches of our day can only be so far catholic and true Churches, as they agree with the above-mentioned one.

As our leading principle, must be taken the words, spoken three years ago by the experienced Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregorius VI., to the delegates of the Pope: "If, since the first schism anything has been added, let it be taken away; but if, since that time, anything has been taken away, let it be added again; for, from the time of the separation, no one had a right either to add or to take away anything." Acting thus, those who call themselves the Old Catholics, will purge the Roman Catholic faith of all that has been added to it since the schism, arbitrarily and contrary to the true spirit of Christianity, by the Popes; and they will form themselves into a community, possessed of much greater authority and spiritual power than the present Roman Catholic Church, making themselves not only worthy of the appellation Old Catholics, but also contributing considerably to the unity of the Church; for, with such a community, the Eastern Church, and all other Christian communities zealous for the truth of the gospel, would come to an easier understanding. But if, on the contrary, as Dr. Döllinger* is said to have expressed himself, nothing more is desired than a Church satisfied with the

* The above passage refers to a rumour which was circulated respecting Dr. Döllinger immediately after the council of 1870, and has no connection with his actual position.

rejection of the dogma of the Infallibility, and with a few diocesan reforms, all we can expect from this great movement, will only be a Christian community resembling that of Utrecht. But if, again, as I gather from an Austrian programme, the reforms are not to have for their basis the old undivided Catholic Church, but are to be arbitrary, it is to be feared that, instead of furthering the unity of the Church, they will but multiply the sects, as has been the case since the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

But is ours a time to give rise to schism, now, when unbelief surrounds us and fights against us? Does not rather necessity command us to make all possible efforts to bring about the unity of the Church, as a bulwark against all the enemies of Christendom? If, in former times, the different Christian sects met in a hostile spirit, necessity now demands that they should unite their strength to fight the more effectually against the enemies of Christ. But this can only be brought about by mutual love, and by the earnest endeavour to smooth all which still separates the Christian communities. What great enthusiasm has not been called forth by the brotherly love shown in England, in my own humble person to the Eastern Church? This enthusiasm, and the newly-awakened love towards the English Church and nation, are indescribable, and promise good fruit for the future. Letters from the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and from the Holy Synod at Athens, give unmistakeable proofs of this. For not alone by her great power, but even more by the Christian spirit diffused through her borders, is the English nation a fit instrument to aid powerfully in all endeavours to approach to each other, and unite more and more all Christian communities.

* * * * * * *

I have written a volume instead of a letter, but I hope you will pardon me for taking up your precious time. In conclusion, I beg you will give my blessing to your honoured wife and family, and remember me always kindly,

Your Excellency's most devoted

ALEXANDER,
Archbishop of Syros and Tenos.

SYROS, *October* $\frac{18}{30}$, 1871.

III.

EXCELLENCY,—It was with unspeakable joy that I received again, after so long a silence, so friendly a letter from your Excellency's own hand; and I consider it my duty to trouble you again with a few lines to thank you for it, and to send you my hearty good wishes for the coming new year. We live now in almost the same time of the year as that in which I first had the honour to make your acquaintance. Perhaps you will receive this letter in the same place where, two years ago, you gave to me such a very friendly reception. I count these memories amongst the most beautiful of my life. I owe, above all, many thanks to your Excellency for the great attention paid by you to all my remarks on the Bulgarian question. I hope that, with the help of your great influence, this affair may come to a profitable issue. Our Church will not fail to do her part whenever help is required from her.

With regard to the religious movement of the Old Catholics, there can be no doubt that their road lies between danger and hope; but let us trust in God that, by His guidance, the affair may redound to the welfare of the Church.

The illness of the Prince of Wales has called forth among us the most heartfelt pity and the deepest emotion, and not only on account of the relationship between your Royal Family and ours, but out of respect for your great country, to which our nation owes so much. Personally, I had especially reason to be sad; and I fervently prayed to God for the Prince's recovery, so that the heart of her Majesty the Queen, who has so highly honoured me with her graciousness, might not again be weighed down by so great a misfortune. May God grant that the Royal Prince shall not only quite recover his health, but that he be also guided into the right path, and that strength may be given to him for your great country's and the world's benefit.

With kind messages, and with my sincere blessing for your honoured wife and family, I sign myself,

Your Excellency's most devoted and grateful friend,

ALEXANDER,
Archbishop of Syros and Tenos.

SYROS, *Dec.* $\frac{19}{31}$, 1871.

IV.

EXCELLENCY,—One of my best friends, Mr. Immanuel Kokkínos, Professor of the law of Administration at the Athens University, and one of our most distinguished lawyers, will leave here in a few days for your great country. As he has requested me to entrust him with a letter of recommendation to your Excellency, I do so with all the more readiness, as by it I shall give you the pleasure of making the acquaintance of one of our most accomplished men. He will be able to give you much information about our affairs, both in general and in particular. I ardently desired to answer your last honoured letter, and to express my heartfelt thanks for your kindness in mentioning to her Majesty the Queen my words of sympathy respecting the recovery of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, but I did not like to trouble your Excellency at a time when I knew you were engaged in a great struggle to settle weighty and important matters which have until now occupied your country. I therefore confined myself to wish and pray that you may come forth from this hard fight as the victor, and that your power may be extended over long times to come; for I am convinced that your being at the head of affairs in England is not only fortunate for your own, but also for other countries, and particularly for ours, for whose prosperity you have shown your sympathy in many ways. With regard to the Bulgarian question, you know that it has come to a deplorable issue. The Bulgarians have established an independent church, as Panslavism wished, and they have done this with many unheard of, unlawful practices, which we would consider as mere folly, were we not forced to assume that under their cover a mischievous policy is cunningly at work—a policy encouraging and supporting the Bulgarians. The saddest part is, that the Turkish Government has recognized and supports this church, infringing thereby on the rights of the Patriarch of Constantinople—a step which none of the former Sultans have dared to take, not even at the worst of times, and which is also entirely contrary to the treaty of 1856. The Church at Constantinople can do no more than oppose it by the canons, and exclude the rebellious ones, who disregard the words of the apostle (Gal. iii. 28),

where he says that "there is neither Jew nor Greek: . . . for ye are *all one* in Christ Jesus."

All the independent Eastern churches agree with that of Constantinople; the Russian Church alone is in a very difficult position. Is she to declare herself against the rebellious church, or against the other Eastern Churches? In doing the former, she destroys what until now has been raised by Russian hands; but in doing the latter, she separates herself from the Orthodox Church. In the latter case there must be schism between the Russian and Greek Churches! The mere word *schism* excites horror; but what can we do, when on one side the truth of the gospel and the canons of the Church are trampled under foot, and on the other side the very existence of our nationality is in danger of being annihilated by Panslavism? Far from us be the false brethren (ψευδάδελφοι!); and taking this course, we have the advantage that Europe can no more accuse us of belonging to the North. However, I venture to repeat that it is most necessary that England should direct the greatest attention towards all the movements of Panslavism, and that by its influence it should shield the Patriarchate at Constantinople from all infringements of its rights by Turkey. If Russia is allowed to pursue its way unchecked, the consequences will before long be most sad, and a remedy will be very difficult. But I will not trouble you any longer with my letter, and I conclude with wishes and prayers for you and your noble family, and with the request to remember me kindly, I sign myself respectfully,

Your Excellency's most devoted friend,

ALEXANDER,
Archbishop of Syros and Tenos.

SYROS, *June 28th*, 1872.

V.

EXCELLENCY,—A long time has passed since I have had occasion to write to your Excellency; but I can assure you that my feelings of love and gratitude are not extinguished, for never can I forget your kindness, and never can I cease to be interested in all that concerns you. When I heard of your retirement from the ministry, I was of course heartily grieved; but how did I rejoice on hearing that you were again engaged in

intellectual work, and of a kind from which knowledge may gain as much as your great country has already gained from your political wisdom and experience. In the Greek papers I have read extracts from your last work on the unchristian pretensions of the See of Rome, a work which has met everywhere with admiration. In this way will the great truth be confirmed, *ὁ ἐν ἑνὶ δόκιμος καὶ ἐν παντί.* I do not in the least doubt that this work will contribute greatly to the strengthening of the cause of truth. Likewise do I rejoice that the cause of the Old Catholics is prospering. What has taken place at Bonn makes one confidently hope that a good understanding in love may gradually produce a union of Christian parties which will have no bye-ends in view, but the one aim of the triumph of evangelic truth. May God still further bless all endeavours after such a result! . . . . For myself the turn of affairs has been beneficial; first, because the asthma from which I suffer, and which has become much worse this last year, does not permit of the greater exertions to which the Metropolitan of Athens is subject as President of the Synod; and secondly, because at Syros I have more leisure for a theological work which I took in hand some time ago; viz., going through the Fathers from the beginning, up to the schism, and extracting from them what each has said on each dogma of the faith, in order to draw up a *θεολογία τῶν πατέρων*, in the same way as was done in *Biblical Theology* from the different books of Holy Scripture. I have just sent you (to the care of M. Papayani, at Liverpool) a few trifles, consisting of six wooden spoons from Mount Athos, two boxes of sweetmeats from Syros, two pieces of marble from Tenos, and some antiquities from Melos, which I beg that you will be so kind as to accept as a little proof of my love. I conclude my letter with the assurance of my fervent attachment to you, entreating that you will continue to honour me with your affection, and with the hearty wish that in the new year on which we have just entered, God may pour many rich gifts and blessings on you and on those dear to you. With this wish, I remain, yours most devotedly,

ALEXANDER LYCURGUS,
Archbishop of Syros and Tenos.

SYROS, *3rd January*, 1875.

To his Excellency W. E. Gladstone, London.

VI.

EXCELLENCY,—I intended to write to your Excellency sooner; but my asthma, from which I have lately suffered more than ever, prevented me. With regard to your valued letter, which spoke so favourably of our Church, and being at the same time so great a comfort in her present afflicted condition, oppressed as she is by the North, I thought it wrong to keep it to myself. I have therefore sent a Greek translation of it first to the Holy Synod at Athens, and then to Constantinople. It has been published at Athens without my permission. The impression it made has been a very great one; for the words of a man like you are an oracle. The warmest gratitude is felt; and the Church especially has expressed most heartily her good wishes for you. The Russians alone were dissatisfied, and have spoken of it in terms which only Scythians would think of using. Your saying that the spirit of the Russian Church is a much more narrow one than that of the Greek Church has vexed them; and yet it is an undoubted truth. The Russians cannot conceive that though they have made all the outward forms of the Greek Church their own, they are yet without her spirit; I mean that spirit which animated in the first eight centuries the great fathers of the Church, who laid the first foundations of a philosophical development and perfecting of the Christian truths, and to whom we owe the purest traditions. The Russians have not yet comprehended that this spirit works and lives freer and purer where it first displayed itself, not where it has been introduced. They cannot feel that in a nation without religious liberty, where the Church is considered to be the servant of the State, large-mindedness can never exist. *There* rules only the spirit of despotism, which for the sake of political ends will pervert the truths of the gospel, and trample on all that the Church from old times reveres as sacred and venerable. Proof of this is Russia's present behaviour in the East. Supremacy in the Eastern Church has long been desired by her, as she deems it necessary for the success of her old plan of *political* supremacy in the East. Knowing, however, that the Greek Church will never give it voluntarily, she has conceived the idea of sowing dissension and disorder among the Patriarchs, partly to prove that the

Greeks are unfit for the supreme leadership in the Church, and that it was necessary, and would be most beneficial, that Russia, on account of her great political power, should take into her own hands the guiding of all Church matters.

* * * * * *

Three months ago intrigues forced the Patriarch of Jerusalem to tender his resignation. The Russians took at once great pains to get elected in his place some one favouring their own interests. I am glad to say that they have not succeeded; for ten days ago a friend and compatriot of mine was appointed to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem—an honest man, who will never be the tool of Russia. But will they leave him in peace?

Five weeks ago Dr. Huber and two other professors from Munich passed through Syros. They paid me a visit, bringing kind messages from Dr. Döllinger for me. Unfortunately I was still so weak from my illness that I could not discuss with them the affairs of the Old Catholics. From here they went on to Constantinople, where they delivered to the Patriarch a letter containing an invitation to all the theologians of Constantinople to take part in the next Conference of the Old Catholics, which is going to be held at Bonn. This was indeed a step in the right direction. As I told Mr. Huber, the best thing to be done at present is to confine the discussions on the points in controversy to the theologians of the various communions; and after they have prepared and smoothed the road, the Churches should officially take part in it. It is desirable that an invitation should also be sent to the Professors of the Theological Faculty of the Athens University. If Dr. Döllinger does not wish to invite them himself, it might be done by the President of the Committee of the Old Catholics. I am convinced that beneficent results for the much desired unity of faith will follow an approach of the theologians of the various communions, if the points in controversy are discussed in a spirit of love.

I am longing to receive the German translation of your valuable dissertation on the decrees of the Vatican, but up to this date I have not received it; and I think that the person requested by you to send it to me has either not done so at all, or else has not addressed it properly. I conclude

this letter with expressions of sincere gratitude for your Excellency's continued kindness; and with my blessing on your family, I remain,

Your Excellency's most devoted,

ALEXANDER LYCURGUS,
Archbishop of Syros and Tenos.

SYROS, *May* ½½, 1875.

I have just received the news that the Arabs of Palestine, urged to it by the Russians, refuse to recognize the newly-elected Patriarch.

VII.

EXCELLENCY,—I believe that your Excellency has received the long letter I sent to you last May. Since then I have been so very ill, that whilst I was staying at Tenos for my health it was rumoured that death had overtaken me. God willed it otherwise. I am still alive, and with His help I have been enabled to take part in the Synod at Bonn. Though my long sufferings had weakened and exhausted me, I yet undertook this journey; firstly, out of love for the holy purpose of the meeting, the unity of all the divided Christian Churches; and secondly, because the holy Synod urgently begged of me to undertake this mission, accompanied by two theological professors of my own choosing.

I am sure that the result of the Synod is already known to you. I take, however, this opportunity to tell you my own view of it. The principal object of the Synod this year was the discussion of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, this being the dogma which is the stumbling-block between the East and West, and which has first given ground for separation. If a reconciliation is to be brought about, this stumbling-block must above all be removed. To avoid making this holy and important matter the subject of a public discussion in Synod, Dr. Döllinger wisely proposed that the Orientals, Anglicans, and Old Catholics, should severally choose five persons, who were to form a committee, for the discussion of all the essential points of this important question. Their decision was to be laid before the Synod. I had the honour to be also a member of this special committee. We all acknow-

ledged that the addition to the *filioque* had crept into the Creed in an illegal manner; but the Occidentals added, that it could not be left out without the consent of a general council. I replied, If every one admits that the expression is illegal, the meeting of a general council is quite unnecessary; for every Christian has a right to reject an addition to the Creed which falsifies the words of our Saviour (St. John xv. 26), as well as the Creed which existed before the second Œcumenical Council. Professor Döllinger did not reject my view of the matter; and in the afternoon of the same day he publicly declared in Synod, amongst other things, that their present position made the holding of a general council quite impossible. Immediately afterwards Professor Döllinger informed us Orientals, in private, that the Old Catholics had no scruples in leaving out the *filioque*, and that it would be done in the first edition of their Liturgy; but he added, that he was not in the position to give us the same assurance with regard to the Anglicans, as they were under legal obligations. He further added, with regard to the Occidentals, "After we have all agreed, that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, the Occidentals must be permitted to hold the *Theologumenon* (θεολογούμενον), that in the everlasting Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Son may not be excluded, but that He must have such a share in it that the existence of the Spirit depends also on Him. He observed, further, that the acceptation of this *Theologumenon* was most necessary for the West; for without it, it would seem as if the Western Church, which has recognized this *filioque* for more than a thousand years, was in a great error in this respect; two hundred millions of people who believe in it, would take offence if we refused to accept it." During my short stay at Bonn I have had many opportunities of admiring the eloquence and learning of this sound theologian, as well as his untiring zeal and powerful mind; wherefore I have styled him Χαλκέντερος—appointed by God's providence to guide so weighty a matter, whose aim is the union of the divided Churches. But I cannot comprehend the above-mentioned omission; for how can unbiassed science, which only strives for truth, take into consideration affairs of honour, and make use of untruths to defend them? We of the Greek Church hold with some of the Greek fathers, that the Holy Ghost shines forth, and is manifested in the Son

(ἐκλάμπει, ἐμφαίνεται); we hold with John Damascenus, that He proceeds from the Father through the Son; and by these expressions we mean that the eternal, as well as temporal, manifestation of the Spirit is through the mediation of the Son; but that the *existence* of the Spirit depends also on the Son, is a dogma which the Church has from the beginning rejected as false; for it would introduce into the Godhead two ἀρχαί. Professor Döllinger mentioned, as chief advocate of this dogma, Cyril of Alexandria; but he did not quote Cyril to prove this. I have taken the trouble to read all that Cyril ever wrote on the Holy Ghost, but I have not found one trace of this dogma. Cyril only says everywhere, "the Spirit belongs (ἴδιον) to the Son, because He is of the same substance;" and in this he speaks in opposition to Nestorius, who, it is well known, declared that Christ had not the Spirit of Himself, but that He borrowed (ἀλλότριον) it as something foreign to Himself. In a letter written by the eastern bishops to John, Patriarch of Antioch, they emphatically said of Cyril as follows: Τά γε νῦν ἀπεσταλμένα (παρὰ Κυρίλλου) τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ εὐγενείᾳ καλλύνεται. Θεὸς γάρ τέλειος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀναδείκνυται ἐν αὐτοῖς. Και τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἐξ υἱοῦ, ἢ δὶ υἱοῦ ὕπαρξιν ἔχον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἴδιον δὲ υἱοῦ ὡς ὁμοούσιον ὠνομασμένον.

These words prove that the above-named bishops hold Cyril to be exempt from the accusation of wishing to make the existence of the Spirit depend on the Son. After I and others had explained all this to Professor Döllinger, he confined himself to the quotation of one sentence from Cyril's writings, which runs as follows: Ἀνάγκη τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν! But we Greeks cannot see anything in it but a repetition of what he always says of the Spirit —that it is necessary that the Holy Spirit be of the same substance as the Son, ὁμοούσιος τῷ υἱῷ; but not that his existence proceeds also from the Son.

Excuse my diffuseness on this point, but I thought it necessary, in case erroneous information had made your Excellency believe that we had put difficulties into the way of the good cause, by not accepting readily what had been proposed. Yes, I am sure that your Excellency will see in the attempts to draw from the words of one or the other of the Fathers of the Church something they were never meant to convey, that

fatal policy of the theologians of former times, which has done so much harm, and which can least of all be approved of by men, who in a spirit of love have determined to examine the treasures of the old undivided Church by the light of unbiassed learning, and to draw from them the golden truth, and nothing but the truth. Finally Dr. Döllinger proposed as a compromise that the dogma of the Procession of the Holy Spirit was to be accepted in all essential points, as John of Damascus explained it. The proposal was accepted by everyone, and the plan of it, comprised in six articles, was read in Synod, and approved of. With the acceptance of this plan the Synod concluded her work for this year. I hope that the plan will not prove illusory, but that it is written in all hearts, and that all may take it up in the spirit of the old undivided Church which we have taken for our pattern. It is in this manner alone that the great stumbling-block can ever be removed. When it is really removed, half the work in our labour for the unity of the Church is accomplished; for the other points of difference which divide us from the Anglicans and Old Catholics, it will be much easier to remove. If we go to work in this manner, we must arrive, though perhaps only after many years, at the desired goal, putting to shame all those who declared it to be impossible that we could ever reach it. Such people seem only to see the hardness of the human heart; they quite forget the grace of God which comes from above and crushes with the hammer of the Spirit of truth even the stoniest hearts.

The few but valuable words which your Excellency has kindly written in a periodical for the venerable Patriarchates of the East against Russian intrigues, have given me great pleasure. I thank you with all my heart for them. I am sure that every Greek heart feels the same.

Strange to say, the Russian theologians at the Synod at Bonn were extremely polite to me, and agreed with us in all matters of faith. They even assured me several times that politics would never destroy this unity of faith. May the future confirm this!

I have been sent to the place from whence I write to you by the celebrated physician Skoda, at Vienna, who has ordered me to drink the waters. I have been here two weeks, and shall remain till the 16th. The doctor tells me that I suffer

from an old, neglected catarrh, which has grown much worse latterly, and has affected the φάρυγξ and λάρυγξ. I should be delighted and comforted were I to receive a letter from your Excellency during my stay here. It is with this hope that I close this letter. My blessing for your family.

Your Excellency's most devoted,

ALEXANDER LYCURGUS,
Archbishop of Syros and Tenos.

GLEICHENBERG, near GRAZ,
September 3rd, 1875.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR EMMANUEL KOKKINOS TO THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

MOST HONOURED SIR,—Yesterday I fulfilled the melancholy duty of imparting to your Excellency by telegraph the news of the decease of your highly-esteemed friend the Archbishop of Syros and Tenos, Alexander Lycurgus. My telegram ran as follows: "The Archbishop Lycurgus died last night. Your charming letter to him was his last joy on earth. Deeply do we mourn for him, because the loss to our fatherland and to the Church is irreparable." I visited our departed friend a few hours before his death, accompanied by Nicholas Damalas, Professor of Theology at our University, and the Archbishop's colleague at the Bonn Conference. In spite of all his sufferings, the receipt and contents of your last letter, and the dissertation enclosed on the results of the Conference at Bonn, gave him great pleasure; and although his voice was weak, he yet spoke in clear and touching words of the sympathy which your Excellency has always shown for all those plans whose aim was the furtherance of the unity of the Christian Church. He was indeed the most faithful adherent and the most worthy champion of these your ideas. The fulness and depth of his knowledge, the greatness of his sentiments, his spirit of active Christian love, the dignity of his demeanour, the charm of his gentleness to all, made your Excellency single him out with unerring penetration; and time has proved that you were not mistaken. Our loss is very great; but we hope that the

memory of his activity, his spirit, and his principles will be kept alive among us, and that it may incite others of his calling to follow in his footsteps.

I beg your Excellency will transfer at least a part of the favour with which you honoured your dear friend, to our University, whose honorary member he was from the time of his election to the archbishopric till his death. Perhaps your Excellency will remember that three years ago the deceased gave me a letter of recommendation to you, which I was unfortunately not able to deliver personally to you, as you were absent from London at the time. Perhaps I shall have the happiness at some future time of conversing with your Excellency about our ever memorable, mutual friend. In this expectation, I remain, with assurances of deepest respect and veneration,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

EMMANUEL KOKKINOS.

ATHENS, 17*th* (31*st*) *October*, 1875.

APPENDIX II.

ADDRESS TO THE ARCHBISHOP AT NOTTINGHAM,

February 2, 1870 (the Festival of the Purification);

BY THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN,

At the Consecration of the Bishop-Suffragan of Nottingham.

Τῷ πανιερωτάτῳ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Σύρου καὶ Τήνου, Κυρίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Λυκούργῳ, χαίρειν ἐν Κυρίῳ.

Ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, πρεσβύτεροι, διάκονοι, καὶ πιστοὶ τῆς Ἀγγλικανῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, συναθροισθέντες ἐλέει Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ τῆς Ὑπαπαντῆς ἑορτῇ διὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν ἀγαπητοῦ τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου Κυρίου Ἐνρίκου χωρεπισκόπου τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ περιφήμου πόλεως Νοττιγγαμίας, ἀσπαζόμεθα μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως καὶ σεβασμοῦ τὴν εὐπροσδεκτὸν τῆς πανιερότητός σου παρουσίαν, ὡς βέβαιον καὶ ζῶντα ἀρραβῶνα καὶ ἐγγυητὴν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλαδελφίας καὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Πάνυ ἀσμένως ἀνεγνωρίσαμεν τὰ προσφιλέστατα καὶ εὐνούστατα γράμματα, τὰ νεωστὶ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Γρηγορίου, Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, πρὸς τὸν πανιερώτατον ταύτης τῆς ἐπαρχίας Μητροπολίτην, Καντουαρίας Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, κομισθέντα· καὶ ἐκτενῶς δεδμεθα τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ παντελεήμονος Θεοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπερεντεύξεως τοῦ ἐνὸς Μεσίτου, Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, σθενώμεθα τῇ ἰσχύι Αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἵνα μεθ' ὑμῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολὴν σφιγκτοτέροις ἀγάπης δεσμοῖς συναφθέντες, καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἐν πᾶσι τῆς οἰκουμένης κλίμασιν ἀφθάρτως καὶ ἀκηράτως Χριστιανῶν κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῇ ἑνότητι τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης, γενναίως μεθ' ὑμῶν συναθλεύωμεν, ὡς καλοὶ στρατιῶται Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἔνα ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἓν κοινὸν παράσημον τὸν τιμιώτατον αὐτοῦ σταυρόν, καὶ τὰς ἁγίας καὶ θεοπνεύστους γραφὰς κρατοῦντες ἐμπέδως καὶ ἀσαλεύτως, ὡς βέβαιον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον Θεοῦ λόγον, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων στοιχοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἀρχαίων συνόδων τῶν γνησίως καὶ ἐτύμως οἰκουμενικῶν εὐτάκτως περιπατοῦντες, ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι δυνώμεθα τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ

τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει· καὶ κατὰ τῶν νεωτερισμῶν καὶ ῥαδιουργιῶν ἀνδρικῶς στρατεύεσθαι, δι' ὧν ἡ Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ζῶντος ταπεινῶν πολιορκεῖται· καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀναρχίας αἳς αἱ τοῦ κόσμου πολιτεῖαι κινδυνεύουσιν οἱονεὶ κατακλυσμῷ τινι σαλευέσθαι καὶ βυθίζεσθαι· καὶ κατὰ τοῦ τύφου ἐκείνου πνευματικοῦ, καὶ ὑπερηφανίας ἀντιχριστιανικῆς, ἥτις ἐν ναῷ Θεοῦ καθίσασα ἑαυτὴν κατὰ Θεοῦ ὡς Θεὸς ἐπαίρεται, καὶ τυραννίδος τῆς ὅλης ἐκκλησίας ὀρέγεται· καὶ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν ἐποικοδομηθέντες, ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συναύξωμεν εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ.

Δώῃ ὁ χρηστὸς Θεὸς τῇ Πανιερότητί σου εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν πᾶσιν, καὶ εὐοδίαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ κάθοδον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα σου· καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν χειμώνων καὶ θυελλῶν τοῦ ταραχώδους τούτου ἀνθρωπίνου βίου εἰς τὸν γαληνὸν καὶ ἀνήμεμον λιμένα τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς διασώσαι· ἧς ἡμῖν ἐπιτυχεῖν γένοιτο δι' Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ᾧ σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἑνὶ μόνῳ Θεῷ, πᾶσα δόξα καὶ κράτος καὶ κλέος εἴη ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ νῦν καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

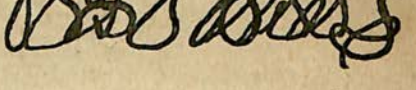
Ἐν Νοττιγγαμίᾳ,
τῇ Ὑπαπαντῇ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
ἔτει ᾳ,ωὸ Φεβρ. β'.

REPLY OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

Τοῖς Σεβασμιωτάτοις Ἐπισκόποις καὶ αἰδεσιμωτάτοις Πρεσβυτέροις καὶ Διακόνοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς συνελθοῦσι τῇ β Φεβρουαρίου, ἑορτῇ τῆς Ὑπαπαντῆς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐπὶ τῇ προχειρίσει τοῦ τῆς Νοττιγγαμίας Χωρεπισκόπου!

Βαθέως συγκεκιδημένος ἐκ τῆς εὐμενοῦς καὶ φιλαδελφου ὑμῶν προσφωνήσεως, ἀπορῶ λόγων ἱκανῶν ἐκφράσαι τὸ τὴν στιγμὴν ταύτην κατέχον τὴν καρδίαν μου ζωηρὸν αἴσθημα χαρᾶς, καὶ τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ἣν ὀφείλω ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῇ οὕτω πανηγυρικῶς ἐκδηλωθείσῃ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἀνατολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἀγάπῃ. Εὐλογῶν δὲ τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅτι καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινότητος ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν παρουσία μικρόν τι συνετέλεσε ἀναζωπύρησιν τῆς ἀγάπης, ἣν οὕσω ζωηραν ἐξέκαυσεν ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις φιλοχρίστοις καρδίαις ἡ τοῦ πανάγιωτάτου Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου πρὸς τὸν Σ. Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Καντουαρίας ἐπιστολὴ, δέομαι κἀγὼ θερμῶς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἵνα, ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ταύτῃ ὁσημέραι στηριζόμενοι καὶ προκόπτοντες, ὁμοφρονήσωμεν πρὼτοι ἡμεῖς, τοῦ Θεοῦ διδόντος καὶ αποκαλυπτοντος, ὡς λέγει ὁ Θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἑτέρως φρονοῦμεν. Καὶ δῶμεν πρότοι ἡμεῖς τὸ σὺνὸθημα τῆς οὕτω ποθητῆς καὶ εὐκταιοτάτης ἑνώσεως, συναρμόζοντες εὐλαβῶς τὸν, ὡς μὴ ὤφειλε, διερρηγμένον ἤδη τοῦ Σωτῆρος χιτῶνα· τὸν χιτῶνα ὃν παλαι μιὲν πολυειδῶς καὶ πολύτροπως διέρρηξαν οἱ Ἄρειοι, οἱ Μακεδόνιοι, οἱ Νεστόριοι, οἱ Εὐτυχεῖς καὶ Διόσκοροι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη φάλαγξ τῶν δυσωνύμων αἱρετικῶν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις φαίνονται

διαρρηγνύοντες ἐπὶ μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον, ἔνθεν μὲν ὁ τύφος ὁ ἐωσφορικὸς, ὁ τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀσεβῶς καὶ ἀνέδην ἀντιποιούμενος, καὶ συνταράσσων τὴν εἰρήνην πάσης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ διασπῶν τὸν σύνδεσμον τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ, ἔνθεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς κακῶς ἐννοουμένης ἐλευθερίας, καθ' ὅ χειρὶ μὲν τολμηρᾷ ἀποκόπτεται πᾶς μετὰ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἐκκλησίας δεσμός, καὶ μεταίρονται ὅρια αἰώνια ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, καταστρέφεται δὲ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τῆς μιᾶς, ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἰδέα, καὶ τὸ μέλος ἐμφανίζεται ὡς τὸ ὅλον σῶμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἑτέρῳ τύφῳ ἀντιποιεῖται καθ' ὁλοκληρίαν τῆς κεφαλῆς. Οὕτω δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καταντήσαντες ἐκπληρυσωμεν τὸν λόγον ἐκεῖνον τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, Ἓν πνεῦμα καὶ ἓν σῶμα καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν· εἷς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα, εἷς Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. Ταῦτα ἐγκάρδιος εὐχόμενος, ἀπονέμω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν πλήρει ἀγάπῃ τὸν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀσπασμόν, καὶ ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄφθονον καὶ δαψιλῆ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν εὐλογίαν. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πάσης χάριτος, Αὐτὸς καθαρτίσαι Ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι, σθενώσαι, θεμελιώσαι!



EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO THE REV. F. MEYRICK.

Αἰδεσιμώτατε φίλε!

Χαίρων ἐκομισάμην τὸ ἀπὸ 25 Νοεμβρίου ἀγαπητὸν γράμμα τῆς Ὑμετέρας Αἰδεσιμότητος, καὶ δόξαν ἀνέπεμψα τῷ Σώτηρι τῶν ὅλων θεῷ τὰ τῆς περιποθήτου μοι ὑγείας Αὐτῆς πολύευκτα αἴσια πληροφορηθείς. Πολὺς γὰρ ἤδη χρόνος ἐστὶν, ἐξ ὅτου φίλος τις, αὐτόθεν ἐλθὼν, ἀπήγγειλέ μοι ὅτι οὐ πάνυ ὑγιῶς εἶχεν ἡ φίλη μοι Αὐτῆς Κορυφή. Καὶ ἤλγησα (μάρτυς ὁ Κύριος!) μέσην καρδίαν, καὶ αἰσιώτερόν τι ἔκτοτε περὶ Αὐτῆς ἐπεπόθουν μαθεῖν ὡς δὴ περὶ φίλου λίαν ἀγαπητοῦ, ὃν ἔγνων σοφίᾳ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ θεοσεβείᾳ κεκοσμημένον, καὶ οὕτινος ἡ μνήμη ζωηρά ἐστιν ἀείποτε ἐν ἐμοὶ, ὡς δὴ κἀκείνη περὶ ἧς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἀναφέρει, ἡ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀδελφικῇ συνδιάλεξις μετὰ τοῦ σεβασμιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου τοῦ Ely, τοῦ λίαν μοι ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ περιποθήτου ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφοῦ, ἧς οὐ μόνον ἁπλοῦς τις ἀκροατὴς, ἀλλα δὴ καὶ συγκοινωνὸς ἡ ὑμετέρα ἀγάπη ἐγένετο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τοῦ γράμματος καὶ τὰς μαρτυρίας ἀξιοῦτέ με καταγράψαι ὧν ἐξ ἄλλων τε ἐμνημόνευσα τότε τῶν θείων πατέρων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Χρυσοστόμου περὶ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως τῶν ἁγίων, προθύμως τὴν ἀξίωσιν ὑμῶν

κέπληρῶ. Ἐξαιτοῦμαι δὲ παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης συγγνώμην ὅτι ἕνεκα τῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ ἄλλων φροντίδων εἰς δεῦρο ἀνέβαλον τὴν ἀπάντησιν.

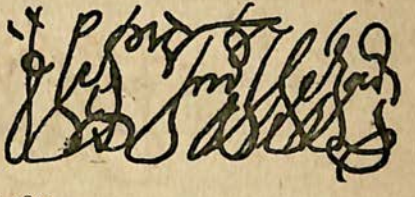
* * * * * * *

Μέμνημαι δὲ ἀεὶ μετ' ἀγάπης ζωηρᾶς καὶ ἐγκαρδίου εὐγνωμοσύνης τῆς μεγάλης καὶ εὐδαίμονος ὑμῶν χώρας, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ περιφέρω καὶ τοὺς τόπους, δι' ὧν διῆλθον, καὶ τοὺς φίλους, παρ' ὧν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐφιλοξενήθην. Μάθετε δὲ ὅτι ἔκτοτε ζωηρά τις ἀγάπη καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν διηγέρθη πρὸς τὸ φιλόχριστον ὑμῶν ἔθνος, καὶ ἐπιθυμία μεγίστη εἰς ἐπαύξησιν τῆς ἀδελφικῆς σχέσεως πρὸς τὴν φιλορθόδοξον καὶ φιλάρχαιον ὑμῶν ἐκκλησίαν. Εἴθε δὲ ὁ Κύριος πληρώσαι τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀναπεμπομένας εὐχὰς οἷς Αὐτὸς οἶδε τρόποις!

Ἐπὶ τούτοις κατασπαζόμενος μετὰ πόθου τὴν φίλην ὑμῶν κορυφὴν, καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ Κυρίου ἵνα στῆτε τέλειοι καὶ πεπληρωμένοι ἐν παντὶ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ, διατελῶ

Τῆς Ὑμετέρας πεφιλημένης μοι Ἀιδεσιμότητος

Ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης καὶ φιλος πρόθυμος,



Ἐν Σύρῳ τῇ $\frac{13}{25}$ Ἰανουαρίου, 1874.

LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF SYROS

To the Bishop of Lincoln, by whom it was quoted at the Discussion on Intercommunion in Convocation.

Ἐν Λονδίνῳ, τῇ $\frac{14}{26}$ Μαρτίου, 1870.

Σεβασμιώτατε καὶ ἀγαπητὲ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφέ, τὴν ὑμετέραν περισπούδαστόν μοι Σεβασμιότητα ἀδελφικῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ κατασπαζόμενος ὑπερήδιστα προσαγορεύω.

Ἤλπισα μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐν Λονδίνῳ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀσπάσασθαι Σεβασμιότητα· ἀλλ' ἐψεύσθην, ὡς μήποτ' ὤφελον, τῆς ἐλπίδος, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα λαμπρῶς εὐτυχήσας πανταχοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ τρισολβίου ὑμῶν πατρίδος, τοῦτο μόνον ἠτύχησα ὅτι ἀπερχομένῳ μοι εἰς τὰ ἴδια οὐκ ἐξεγένετο τὸν ἄριστον ἄνδρα καὶ ἄριστον ἐμοὶ φίλον αὖθις περιπτύξασθαι, οὗ τὴν παιδείαν καὶ ἀρετὴν οὐδέποτε παύσομαι θαυμάζων, καὶ ἐγκάρδιον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνην διατηρῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐμὲ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον Ἀνατολικὴν

Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ σύμπαν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθνος εἰλικρίνως καὶ ἀδόλως ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τιμᾷ. Ἤλγησα μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐκείνης ψευσθείς, ἀλλ' ἀρκοῦσαν ἔχω παραμυθίαν αὐτὴν τὴν καρδίαν μου πανταχοῦ καὶ πάντοτε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην συμπεριάγουσαν, καὶ πάντα τὸν πολύτιμον ὑμῶν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ τοσαύτης ἀπήλαυσα ξενίας καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς δεξιώσεως. Ἀποστέλλων δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν Σεβασμιότητα φωτογράφητον τὴν εἰκόνα μου, ἀδελφοῦ ἐν Χρίστῳ καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς φίλου μνημόσυνον, πολλὰ ὑμῶν δέομαι, φίλων ἄριστε καὶ περιπόθητε ἀποστεῖλαί μοι τάχιστα καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀντίδωρον ἐμοὶ προσφιλέστατόν τε καὶ ποθεινότατον. Ἅμα δὲ τῇ εἰκόνι καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοττιγγαμίᾳ γενομένην ἀντιφώνησίν μου συναποστέλλω. Ἐκ μέσης δὲ ψυχῆς τῇ τε πολυσεβάστῳ καὶ πολυτίμῳ ὑμῶν συζύγῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις τέκνοις ἄφθονον τὴν ἐξ ὕψους εὐλογίαν ἐπικαλούμενος, οὐδέποτε παύσομαι ὑμῖν τὰ προσήκοντα ἐπιστέλλων, καὶ τὸν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀσπασμὸν ἀπονέμων. Ἅπειμι δὲ, θεοῦ θέλοντος, τὴν προσεχῆ τρίτην (κθ' Μαρτίου) εὐθὺ εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ἔνθα τῷ Παναγιωτάτῳ Οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ τά τε ἄλλα ἃ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα ἐνταῦθα, περιχαρὴς ἀπαγγελῶ, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, τοῦ καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ φιλορθοδόξου τε καὶ φιλέλληνος, διὰ μακροῦ τῇ Λύτοῦ Παναγιότητι διερμηνεύσω. Καὶ ὅλως ἀγαπητέ μοι ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφέ, οὐδὲν ἐλλείψω, ὅση μοι δύναμις, τοῦ συνεργεῖν πρὸς τὴν θεάρετον σκοπὸν τῆς τῶν Ἐκκλησίων ἑνώσεως. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· τοῦτο ἡ ὀρθοδοξος ἡμῶν Ἀνατολικὴ Ἐκκλησία νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας δεομένη εὔχεται· τοῦτο πάντες οἱ κατὰ Χριστὸν διανοούμενοι καὶ ζῶντες ἐπιζητοῦσι· καὶ τεύξονται δὲ τοῦ ζητουμένου, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος καὶ παθόντος. Ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον αὖθις οἶκον ἐπικαλούμενος διατελῶ

Τῆς ὑμετέρας περισπουδάστου μοι Σεβασμιότητος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ εὐγνώμων

Τῷ Σεβ. ἐπισκοπῷ Λιγκολνίας.

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